

# THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

EDITED BY

E. HARRISON, C. J. FORDYCE

AND

R. M. RATTENBURY

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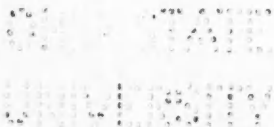
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ERNEST HARRISON, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, one of the Editors of the *Classical Review* since 1923, died suddenly at Cambridge on 28th March. The Chairman of the Classical Journals Board writes:

The sudden death of Ernest Harrison has robbed Cambridge of one of its most devoted and unselfish sons, and English scholarship of one of its finest and subtlest masters, a man who combined a Porsonian knowledge of metre and idiom with a powerful grasp of history and with an austere but keen appreciation of literature. After his brilliant early work on Theognis he published lamentably little. The older scholars who encouraged him to print this astonishingly mature Fellowship thesis were fully justified by its merits, but it is arguable that they did him a disservice, for the feeling that he had rushed too quickly into print seems to have been one of the original causes of his slowness in bringing his later researches to the point of publication. Afterwards this reluctance was increased by his lack of leisure and by his growing passion for unattainable perfection of substance and form. He had brought his masterly work on the Greek tragic iambic to a very advanced stage, and had published several papers which gave more than a hint of the treasures in reserve, but his friends had almost despaired of ever persuading him to cease from its revision.

He was, in truth, always overworked, especially since the last war, at the end of which he passed without a day's holiday from exhausting activity at the Admiralty to the overwhelming pressure of a Senior Tutor's work under the abnormal conditions of demobilization. When he became Registrar of the University he was again subjected to exceptional strain, since it fell to him to interpret and put into execution the new Statutes of 1926. At the outbreak of the present war he felt for a moment that the burden was almost beyond his strength, but he forced himself to shoulder it, and shortly before his death he had accepted the prolongation of his tenure beyond the statutory age of retirement.

It is typical of his generous unselfishness that he found time during these years of stress to become one of the Editors of the *Classical Review*, and to accept repeated annual reappointment. He took infinite pains over this work, to which he brought all the distinguishing qualities of his mind, exact scholarship, scrupulous fairness, and an unrivalled sense of balance and fitness, and it is impossible to express the magnitude of his loss.

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# THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

MARCH 1943

## NOTES AND NEWS

THE Classical Association is to meet at Cambridge on 13-15 April, and the Presidential Address will be delivered at 5 p.m. on the 14th, in the Regent House, by Mr. J. T. Sheppard, Provost of King's.

Two recent instalments of *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Volume XXVII, are obituary notices of Arthur Hamilton Smith and Sir Arthur John Evans. For particulars see below (p. 56).

Sir Frederic Kenyon's memoir of Smith ends thus: 'Never was a useful life less spectacular. *ἔλαθε βιώσας*.' But posterity is much in Smith's debt for his excellent work on the Greek trea-

sures at the British Museum and elsewhere in this country; and he did good service also, late in life, as Director of the British School at Rome.

Professor J. L. Myres has a more thrilling story to tell of Evans, whose early exploits in the Balkans led him to the 'condemned cell', and to release on condition of keeping off Austrian soil. With his 'microscopic vision', which won him some capital finds of works of art, he had the wider view to which we owe his triumphant discoveries in Crete. A life so adventurous and so prolific of new knowledge deserves a volume; meanwhile this memoir will serve well.

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF SOLON'S REFORMS

A CLUE to the chronology of Solon's reforms has been missed owing to the erroneous interpretation of a passage in Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 10), which runs: *πρὸ τῆς νομοθεσίας ποιῆσαι τὴν τῶν χρῶν ἀποκοπὴν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν τε τῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος αὐξήσιν*. The last words of this have been translated 'the increase in measures weights and coinage'; and elaborate theories have been invented to explain what Aristotle meant by saying that Solon increased the coinage. But *νόμισμα* does not mean coinage: it does not necessarily even mean a coin: though most Greek states used a coin as their *nomisma*, it might be any form of currency-unit: for instance, in Plutarch (*Lysand.* 17) iron rods are described as *νομίσματα*. Kenyon's translation of the word in the passage in question as 'currency' is nearer the truth, though even with this 'increase in the currency' might be misunderstood as referring to an increase in the volume of the currency as a whole. If a single English word must be found to express the meaning, probably 'unit' is the best.

In view of this fact, the theories men-

tioned can be disregarded: Aristotle simply states that Solon increased the unit of currency: and there can be no doubt that in this he refers to the substitution of the tetradrachm for the drachm as the Athenian *nomisma*, and ascribes to Solon the inception of the famous series of Athenian 'owls'. The tendency of late has been to regard Pisistratus rather than Solon as the originator of the tetradrachm: but, as will be seen later, there are sound economic reasons in favour of Aristotle's statement.

The order of the reforms, then, is given by Aristotle as (1) the reduction of debts; (2) the *nomothesia*, or general legislation; (3) after these, the increase of weights and measures and that of the *nomisma*. The way in which he phrases the statement suggests that the first two might be run together, but that there was an interval of time between them and the two items in the third, which again were separate operations. He does not, however, indicate how long this interval was.

That there was a definite connexion between the cutting-down of debts and

the nomothesia seems to follow naturally from Androtion's account of the method in which the former was effected (see Plutarch, *Solon*, 15). Briefly stated, what Solon did was to substitute the lighter Euboic stater for the heavier Aeginetan as the official currency of Attica. Both of these alike were accounted as didrachms, which gave Solon his opportunity of cutting down debts by manipulating the exchanges, since the terms of a contract expressed in drachmas could equally well be satisfied by payment in either currency. But neither was a nomisma at Athens until it had been duly recognized by law: as Aristotle explains (*Eth.* v. 8: 1133<sup>a</sup>), *διὰ τοῦτο τοῦτομα ἔχει νόμισμα, ὅτι οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ ἐστίν*. So one of the measures in the Solonian legislation was presumably the formal adoption of the Euboic standard for Attic currency: and this would probably follow immediately on the cutting-down of debts.

The increase in the nomisma might, of course, have taken place at the same time or very soon afterwards: but it seems more probable that there was a gap of some years. From Aristotle's account (*Ath. Pol.* 11) it appears that after the nomothesia Solon went to Egypt for ten years *κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἅμα καὶ θεωρίαν*: in other words, he went on a commercial tour, presumably to make inquiries as to possible openings for Athenian trade. In this case he would certainly discover that a leading demand in Egypt was for silver, which had hitherto been met mainly by the Aeginetan merchants, and would naturally consider whether Athens could not develop the export of silver. The existence of veins of silver in Attica at Laurium may well have been known to him: there is no evidence that the mines had been systematically exploited before his time, but there may have been surface workings, as there was certainly some population there: until an export trade in silver had been established, it would not have been worth while to go deep, as silver was little regarded in Greece in early times. Further, he would probably realize that the Eastern markets preferred a substantial lump of metal for

trading purposes: this was certainly the case at a later date, as is shown by the composition of hoards of Greek silver found in Egypt. It is reasonable therefore to assume that on his return to Athens he took steps to develop the mines of Laurium and to coin the silver into ingots which were heavier than the Euboic staters, and also than the 'Phidonian' staters of Aegina: he made the Athenian nomisma a piece accounted as four drachmas, in place of the earlier staters accounted as two, giving a unit of about 270 grains of silver as against the Euboic 130 and the Aeginetan 190.

This assumption fits in sufficiently well with the style of the earliest Athenian tetradrachms, which were dated by Head to 566 B.C.: they are certainly not as early as the legislation period of 593. It would take some time to develop the mines and open up the export trade—a fact which in itself is against referring the increase in the nomisma to the brief interval between Solon's nomothesia and his departure for Egypt: and it would not be unreasonable to date these first tetradrachms to about 570.

The increase in weights and measures, which Aristotle mentions alongside of that of the nomisma, though not, judged by his phrasing, as an integral part, cannot be checked by archaeological evidence, since there is nothing to show what the weights and measures in use at Athens before Solon may have been. The one fact that emerges is that he introduced a new commercial weight, one hundredth part of the mina, which he named the drachma, borrowing the term from the old unit of value represented by six iron rods, and relating the commercial and coinage weights: as Aristotle says, it was *πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα*. Previously the drachma had been merely a term of value, and bore no fixed relation to the mina, which was a weight: for instance, the Aeginetan stater gave an equation of 73 'drachmas' to a mina, while the Euboic gave over 100: Solon adjusted the Euboic standard slightly to fit his new scheme. This change was doubtless made for commercial purposes, to enable the coins to be valued more readily as bullion: it did not, of course,

imply that an Athenian drachma would pass as a drachma wherever that system of reckoning was used: it did imply that the coin contained a given weight of silver, which was a convenient fraction of the universal weight-standard, the mina; and its value could easily be ascertained at any market by reference to the local current price of silver.

This measure, then, was, like the increase in the nomisma, primarily a commercial one, designed to facilitate the trade in silver: it had no political or

legal import. It may therefore reasonably be assigned to the period after Solon's return to Athens, when he presumably put into practice the ideas for the encouragement of Athenian trade which had been suggested by his commercial mission in Egypt. If so, we may envisage Solon as still occupied, during the last twenty years of life, with schemes for the economic benefit of his country.

J. G. MILNE.

Oxford.

### THE TRIPLE-FURROWED FIELD

THE term *τρίπολος* in Homer's description of Achilles' shield has puzzled commentators. They translate it by 'thrice-ploughed' or some such term or phrase and then commonly explain that the reference is to the number of times Greek fields were ploughed in the course of the year, but they are obviously not happy about this interpretation. (Cf. R. J. Cunliffe, *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*, s.v.; W. Leaf, *The Iliad*, on Σ541.) The principal evidence usually cited for triple annual ploughing among the Greeks is found in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (448 ff., 462 f.), but he does not say 'Plough in spring and in summer'; rather he may mean 'Plough in spring or in summer'. Leaf (op. cit.) shows that ll. 462-4 clearly refer to spring ploughing and say nothing of more than one ploughing. A. W. Mair (*Hesiod done into English Prose*, pp. 127 ff.) elaborates the usual theory: 'The first turning of the land took place in spring, and the verb used is *πολεῖν*. . . The land then lay exposed to wind and weather till harvest, when it was turned a second time (*θέρεος νεωμένη*, W. 462). Then in early September, or late August, as we may infer from the known later practice (cf. *Geopon.* iii. 12, 6; Verg. *Georg.* i. 67 sq., etc.), it was turned a third time. It is to this "thrice-turned field", or "thryfallow" in old English phrase, that Homer refers . . . the scene being not a spring scene, as the commentators interpret, but an autumn (winter) scene.' This explanation tidies up the facts unduly. An

obscure and, as I shall show, misinterpreted line is cited as evidence of a second ploughing, and lines from later writers which are open to other interpretations are used to establish the third ploughing.

The truth is that there was in ancient times a good deal of latitude in regard to the time of ploughing and sowing, as Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, 16, clearly shows. This passage, with its reference to three sowing seasons, has been used to furnish support for the triple-ploughing theory, but its witness is rather against than for it. Theophrastus also (*Hist. Plant.* vii. 13. 6) refers to three sowing 'seasons'. Writing of the squill (*Urginea maritima*) he says: 'It makes three flowerings, of which the first appears to mark the first seed-time, the second the middle one, and the third the last one; for, according as these flowerings have occurred, so the crops usually turn out.' Although this has been quoted in support of threefold annual ploughing its relevance is not apparent. The squill's flowering period is from August until October (Halácsy, *Conspectus Florae Graecae*, iii. 240). It would seem that Xenophon and Theophrastus have in mind a sowing period which extended over several months rather than seasons. The case for the 'thrice-ploughed field' is further weakened by the uncertainty whether in l. 462 Hesiod may be referring to summer harrowing. Our own word 'fallow' means literally 'harrowed', from the Anglo-Saxon *fealh*, harrow.



As Mair (op. cit.) shows, any one of these 'fallowings' could be duplicated. It is thus clear that there was no regular fixed number of ploughings in the year. There were repeated 'fallowings', as is usual in primitive agriculture, and there were different 'seasons' when grain might be sown, but we have no evidence that there was any such regular annual triple ploughing as commentators on Homer would persuade us took place.

According to the usual renderings it was in a 'thrice-ploughed field' that Demeter had intercourse with Iasion (*Od.* v. 125 ff.) and bore Ploutos (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 971 ff.). These references, I would suggest, indicate that we are dealing with agricultural ritual rather than agricultural practice, for readers of *The Golden Bough* will need no reminding that over wide areas of the earth's surface human intercourse was believed to further, by processes of sympathetic magic, the growth of the crops. Here we have the clue to the correct interpretation of *τρίπολος* in Homer and elsewhere. It is highly probable that the scene represented on the shield of Achilles depicts ritual ploughing in the course of which three sacred furrows were traced by the chieftain or his surrogate.

As I show in greater detail elsewhere (*Folklore*, in the press), three or a multiple of three occurs in ritual ploughing throughout the whole area of plough agriculture. To this day in China (N. Waln, *The House of Exile*, p. 65) and north-east India (*The Times*, 23 April 1935, pp. 11 f.) the ceremony of the three furrows is annually celebrated.

The chieftain is shown in the harvesting scene on Achilles' shield supervising the work and bearing the symbol of his office—presumably fulfilling his function of furthering the fertility of the fields. Possibly we have in Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. 224 ff.) a picture of such ritual ploughing. Aietes turns up the soil 'for a good six feet' and Iason then takes over and finishes the job. In most cases of ritual ploughing of which we have detailed records subordinate officials plough after the king has drawn his

three furrows. In China provincial officials still perform ritual ploughing to initiate the agricultural year as was the custom in the past, although there is no longer an Emperor to initiate the ancient ritual.

The wine provided for the Homeric ploughman is not merely a refreshing draught but a ritual beverage. When the Emperor of China returned from ploughing the sacred field he offered a cup of wine to those who had collaborated with him (L. Hodous, *Folkways of China*, p. 94). The harvesting took place in no ordinary field but in the *τέμενος* or chieftain's demesne—a further hint, perhaps, that neither was the ploughing conducted in an ordinary field. We know, indeed, that sacred ploughing was performed in three localities in Attica. There was the 'ox-yoked ploughing' which took place at the foot of the Acropolis, another at Scirum, and a third, significantly enough, on the Rarian plain at Eleusis, where Triptolemos possessed an altar and sacred threshing-place and was revered as the ancient cult-hero. The ploughing was in his honour (Plutarch, *Praecepta coniug.* 42; O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* ii. 1215 ff., s.v.; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 145 f.; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, p. 1128, s.v. Triptolemos). As Sir James Frazer (*G.B.*³ vii. 31) and others have pointed out, a sacred building in which the marriage of Dionysos with the Queen of Athens was celebrated adjoined the field of the ox-yoked ploughing. At Peking the visitor may see such sacred buildings close to the field in which the three furrows were traced by the Emperor to initiate the agricultural year.

Triptolemos is first mentioned in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (474 ff., cf. 153). There has been a good deal of discussion as to the origin and meaning of his name, but most modern scholars accept the explanation put forward by the lady Agallis of Korkyra in the third century B.C. (Schol. *Il.* xviii. 483), connecting Triptolemos with the triple-furrowed field (A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 224 f.; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, p. 1140). The suggestion that the name may be

connected with the number 3 as the number of sacred fields where the ploughing was conducted (Roscher, loc. cit.) need not be taken seriously, for Triptolemos presumably gets his name from his association with the ritual of the three furrows in the holy field. If this be so—and it is much more likely that the Inventor of the Plough and First Ploughman took his name from ritual than from agricultural convenience—it is additional evidence for the interpretation which I advocate. If any further confirmation of this view were necessary it could be found in the Hymn to Demeter, which tells us that Triptolemos was a 'king' or chief whom Demeter instructed in mystic rites in order to procure the fertility of the soil. Thus the first mention of Triptolemos shows him in connexion

with fertility ritual. The Athenians held him to be the son of Keleos, the green woodpecker. Even in England this bird was apparently associated with fertility ritual, for its cry is still held to portend rain. As I have shown elsewhere (M.A. thesis, Leeds University), there is much evidence that the woodpecker was a fertility-bringing bird.

Thus all lines of interpretation suggest that the ploughing scene depicted on Achilles' shield is a ritual ceremony analogous to that performed until the Revolution in 1911 by the Emperor of China, and that *τρίπολος*, usually translated by 'thrice-ploughed' or a synonym, would be more correctly rendered 'triple-furrowed'.

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### SOPHOKLES, *O. T.* 530–1

*Χο. οὐκ οἶδ'· ἂ γὰρ δρῶσ' οἱ κρατοῦντες οὐχ ὁρῶ.  
αὐτὸς δ' ὁδ' ἦδη δωμάτων ἔξω περᾶ.*

THE second of these lines is omitted by what is now our oldest authority for the text, pap. Oxyrh. 2180. The editors consider this a mere accident (*Ox. Papyrus*, xviii, p. 109). I am not sure, and at the risk of trespassing on the preserves of Mr. D. L. Page I suggest that 531 is an insertion from some stage-copy and the papyrus preserves the text as the author wrote it. The Chorus has just professed to be blind to the doings of its betters; does it not betray a certain lack of humour, and Sophokles was not humourless, for it immediately to notice the arrival of the King, before even Kreon, apparently, has seen him? At all events, he comes on with a furious 'You, there!' (*οὗτος σὺ*, 532), which could well accompany a sudden rush out from the palace, giving time neither for Kreon to turn and face him nor for the Chorus to use one of its stock formulae of introduction. His mask is of course familiar to the audience, so no difficulty would arise in recognizing him. As a matter of poetical form, the Chorus has once answered a question of Kreon's in two lines (523–4) and once in one (527), wherefore there seems no reason why

the poet should not use here whichever form of reply he judged most suitable.

As an alternative to an actor's insertion I would suggest that of some reader or editor, who had not the imagination to act the play out for himself as he read it and thought it needed to be made clear who utters the angry speech beginning at 532. The papyrus has a 'sound and careful' text, say the editors (p. 103), with whom I thoroughly agree. It is perhaps worth noting that it seems to have read the unusual inversion *τοῦ πρὸς* for *πρὸς τοῦ* in 525. Be this right or wrong (Jebb upholds and Pearson rejects it), it is the reading of L, that somewhat battered descendant of an ancient scholarly recension. The editors have pointed out two other passages (417, 511) in which the papyrus preserves new and very likely right readings, and, so far as I have noticed, the scribe has made but one error in the surviving parts, a mere omission of an iota adscript which has been corrected in the margin at 433. So careful a man is not very likely to leave out whole lines and say (so far as his mutilated work enables one to judge) nothing about it.

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## QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS, iii. 267-77

- ὡς εἰπὼν Τρώεσσι ἐνεστρωφάτο, λέων ὡς  
 ἐν κυσὶν ἀγρευτῆσι κατ' ἄγκεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλην.  
 πολλοὺς δ' αἰψ' ἐδάμασσε μεμαότας εὖχος ἀρέσθαι  
 270 Τρώας δ' ὡς Λυκίοισιν· περιτρομέοντο δὲ λαοί,  
 ἰχθύες ὡς ἀνὰ πόντον ἐπερχομένου ἀλεγεινοῦ  
 κήτεος ἢ δελφίνος ἀλτρεφέος μεγάλου·  
 ὡς Τρώες φοβέοντο βίην Τελαμωνιάδαο  
 αἰὲν ἐπισσυσμένοιο κατὰ κλόνον· ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ὡς  
 275 μάρναντ', ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκρὸν Ἀχιλλέος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι  
 μυρίοι ἐν κονίῃσιν, ὅπως σῦες ἀμφὶ λέοντα,  
 κτείνοντ'· οὐλομένη δὲ περὶ σφίσι δῆρις ὀρώρει.

THE first simile in this passage—the lion set upon by hounds—is one of the commonest in Homer and Quintus. The second—fishes chased by a sea-beast—is rare, and seems to be borrowed from *Iliad*, xxi. 22 ff., where it has a special appropriateness which it lacks here. The third—countless wild boars assailing a lion—is, I think, unique, and calls for closer inspection.

In the similes of Homer and Quintus the boar's role is almost identical with the lion's, and they are often named as alternatives, both in brief general comparisons, for instance in *Iliad*, v. 782 ff., or as big game, for instance, in *Iliad*, xii. 41 ff., or in Quintus, vi. 396 (λείουσιν ἐοικότες . . . ἢ σοὶ κάπροιον, κάπριος ἢ λέων, ἀλλ' ὡς τίς τε λέων ἢ ἄγριος οὔρει κάπρος). Always, too, the boar, like the lion, is either solitary or one of a pair: Ebeling quotes from the *Iliad* five examples of the lion in pairs and two of the boar (*Iliad*, xi. 324 and xii. 146), and we find a pair of lions in Quintus, i. 524. Nowhere in Homer or in Quintus have I found a genuine picture of more than two lions or two boars acting together. Where the plural is used of either beast, in a way that implies the simultaneous action of more than one individual, it is almost always further defined by an unambiguous dual: very rarely it expresses the resemblance, as individuals, to lions or boars, of a number of heroes who happen to be acting together, without evoking any picture of a similar assembly of beasts. So *Iliad*, v. 778 ff., where we are told that Hera and Athena came

ὅθι πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι  
 ἔστασαν, ἀμφὶ βίην Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο  
 εἰλόμενοι, λείουσιν ἐοικότες ὠμοφάγοισιν  
 ἢ σοὶ κάπροιον, τῶν τε σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν.

There is here no thought of a pride of lions or of a herd of boars: the heroes are a band of lion-hearts: that is meant, and nothing more.

Lion may fight lion, or boar boar, or lion boar, but always in single combat, as in *Iliad*, vii. 255 ff., where the phrase just quoted (λείουσιν . . . ἀλαπαδνόν) is used again, this time of Ajax and Hector closing in a duel. So too one lion fights one boar, for instance in *Iliad*, xvi. 818 ff., and Quintus, ii. 247 ff. In all ancient legend and fiction, from Atalanta to Apuleius, the boar is a solitary terror.

This evidence should make us sceptical of the casual comparison of a crowd of Trojans, fighting Ajax for Achilles' body, to wild boars assailing a lion. Had Quintus risked so startling a novelty, he must at least have developed and justified it.

So far I have assumed, with all editors, that σῦες in our passage means wild boars, but the word can equally well mean domestic pigs, which both Homer and Quintus regularly picture in herds. This, however, is not a defensible solution. In these closing lines the Trojans no longer appear in terrified flight, as in the passage about the fish and the sea-beast: here Quintus insists that they still fight on, and that it is because they fight on that myriads fall round Achilles' body, ὅπως σῦες ἀμφὶ λέοντα. Lions in Homer and Quintus seem in fact to attack only oxen and sheep, but if they had fallen on domestic pigs, they would doubtless have made even shorter work of them than did the harvester's dogs which in Quintus, xi. 170 ff., easily drove a marauding herd of pigs in headlong flight. The lack of habitual association between lions and pigs is illustrated by Quintus, viii. 238, where the Trojans flee into the city,

πόρτις εἴτε λέοντα φοβεύμεναι ἢ σῦες ὄμβρον.

Let us look more closely at the structure of the passage with which we are chiefly concerned. A possible course would be to excise l. 276 altogether: it would not be missed, and κτείνοντ' is



awkward with ἐν κινήσῃ, a phrase which Homer uses chiefly with such verbs as πίπτειν, ἐκκυλίνδεσθαι, τανύεσθαι, βάλλεσθαι, κείσθαι, but it would be difficult to explain such an interpolation. If the line is genuine, it is obvious that Quintus returns, in this closing passage, to the simile with which he started—the lion at bay. He returns to it, after his unfortunate Homeric reminiscence of the fishes, because it is so much more appropriate a picture to leave in the mind's eye. Ajax, like the lion, but unlike the sea-beast, is stationary, for in Quintus he does not carry off the body, with Odysseus fighting a rearguard action, as in the Cycle, but fights where he stands till the Trojans break (at iii. 349), when he chases them to the gates of Troy: and the Trojans, unlike the fishes, still fight back.

There is a parallel to this structure in Quintus, v. 406 ff., where we read that Ajax leaps among the flocks like a hungry lion (ἐν δ' ἔθορεν μήλοισι λέων ὡς ὄβριμόθυμος), and then that he scatters them as Boreas scatters the autumn leaves, and Quintus concludes (411 ff.)

ὥς Αἴας μήλοισι μέγ' ἀσχαλῶν ἐνόρουσεν,  
a phrase which takes us back, past the wind and leaves, to the opening simile of the lion.

In our passage, likewise, Quintus returns to his lion, and then dismisses him in four words. So brief a reminder implies exact repetition: read κύνες for σῦες and all is plain:

μυρίοι ἐν κινήσῃ, ὅπως κύνες ἀμφὶ λέοντα,  
κτείνοντ'.

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### PLATO, REPUBLIC 516 d2-e2

... δοκεῖς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμητικῶς αὐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ ζηλοῦν . . . , ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἂν πεπονθέναι καὶ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι "ἐπάρουρον ἐντα θητευμένῃ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ" καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν πεπονθέναι μᾶλλον ἢ "κεῖνά τε δοξάζειν καὶ ἐκείνους ζῆν";

Οὕτως, ἔφη, ἐγὼ γε οἶμαι, πᾶν μᾶλλον πεπονθέναι ἂν δέξασθαι ἢ ζῆν ἐκείνους.

THE repetition of ἂν πεπονθέναι followed immediately by the false collocation πεπονθέναι ἂν (where ἂν belongs to δέξασθαι) seems hardly tolerable. The two instances of ἂν πεπονθέναι, and the arguments for omission, may be examined in turn.

1. Adam in his earlier text (1900) says of the first πεπονθέναι *malim abesse*. In his edition (1902) he supports the traditional reading, citing as 'a precise parallel' *Symp.* 198 c, ἀτεχνῶς τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐπεπόνθη (cf. also *Parm.* 136 e, καίτοι δοκῶ μοι τὸ τοῦ Ἰβυκείου ἵππου πεπονθέναι, ὡς ἐκείνος, κτλ.).

Phrases of the type τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου are employed by Plato (to introduce as a rule either a literary quotation or allusion or, like the frequent τὸ λεγόμενον, a proverbial expression) sometimes as part of the construction and sometimes in a detached or appositional use. For the former class, see, besides the instances above, *Rep.* 329 e, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εὐ ἔχει, ὅς κτλ. (cf.

*Crat.* 428 a): *Rep.* 441 b, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ ἄνω που ἐκεῖ εἵπομεν, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου μαρτυρήσει, τὸ κτλ.: *Phaedo*, 72 c, ταχὺ ἂν τὸ τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου γερονδὸς εἴη, ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα (cf. *Gorg.* 465 d): *Phaedo*, 77 d, δοκεῖς σὺ τε καὶ Σιμμίας δεινίαν τὸ τῶν παιδῶν, μὴ κτλ.: *Crat.* 428 c, ὅτι μοί πως ἐπέρχεται λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ὃ ἐκείνος ἐν Λιταῖς πρὸς τὸν Αἴαντα λέγει: *Lach.* 188 b, ἐθέλοντα κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ἀξιούντα μανθάνειν ἕωσπερ ἂν ζῇ: *Rep.* 435 c, ἴσως γὰρ . . . τὸ λεγόμενον ἀληθές, ὅτι χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ (contrast 497 d, below).

For the appositional use, see *Apol.* 34 d, καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, οὐδ' ἐγὼ ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης πέφυκα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων: *Theaet.* 183 e, Παρμενίδης μοι φαίνεται, τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, αἰδοῦός τε μοι εἶναι ἅμα δεινός τε: *Crat.* 428 d, δεῖ . . . πειρᾶσθαι, τὸ ἐκείνου τοῦ ποιητοῦ, βλέπειν ἅμα πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω: ib. 435 c, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς, τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμογέους, γλισχρὰ ἢ κτλ.: *Rep.* 422 e, ἐκάστη γὰρ αὐτῶν πόλεις εἰσὶ πάμπολλαι, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλεις, τὸ τῶν παιζόντων (cf. 573 c): *Rep.* 497 d, τὰ γὰρ δὴ μεγάλα πάντα ἐπισφαλῆ, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον τὰ καλὰ τῶ ὄντι χαλεπὰ: *Soph.* 261 b, σχολῇ που, τὸ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν λεγόμενον, ὃ γε

τοιούτος ἂν ποτε ἔλοι πόλιν. τὸ λεγόμενον is in most instances used in this way; see also e.g. *Rep.* 423 e; *Polit.* 311 a; *Rep.* 362 d.

A search, perhaps not exhaustive, in the accepted dialogues has yielded fifteen examples of these phrases introduced by τὸ in syntactical construction, and twenty-four in apposition.

There is, then, support both for the retention and (in view of Plato's usage slightly stronger) for the omission of ἂν πεπονθέναι after 'Ομήρου. If it be omitted, βούλεσθαι follows on from ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχειν and ζηλοῦν, and is, with them, influenced by the preceding ἂν. καί, if retained, can be intensive with σφόδρα. (Cf. *Lach.* 201 e; *Laws*, 627 a, and see Denniston, *Greek Particles*, p. 318). Compare perhaps the use of ἀτεχνῶς with τὸ λεγόμενον, e.g. *Euthyd.* 292 e, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς τὸ λεγόμενον ὁ Διὸς Κόρυμβος γίγνεται.

2. The second ἂν πεπονθέναι is no more indispensable than the first, and its omission would give a type of construction used elsewhere by Plato, fusing a quotation into one sentence with words of his own which follow it. Cf. *Rep.* 362 a, τῷ ὄντι γὰρ φήσουσι τὸν ἀδικον . . . οὐ δοκεῖν ἀδικον ἀλλ' εἶναι ἐθέλειν,

βαθειᾶν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενον,  
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευματα,

πρῶτον μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει . . . ἔπειτα  
γαμῖν κτλ. (the infinitives in apposition

το βουλευματα). *Rep.* 364 d, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκαν καὶ τινα ὁδὸν μακρὰν τε καὶ . . . ἀνάντη. *Rep.* 550 c, οὐκοῦν μετὰ τοῦτο, τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου, λέγωμεν "ἄλλον ἄλλη πρὸς πόλει τεταγμένον", μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν προτέραν τὴν πόλιν; *Apol.* 34 d, cited above, also combines this kind of construction with an appositional τὸ τοῦ 'Ομήρου.

By the omission of ἂν πεπονθέναι in the present passage, ὅτιοῦν μᾶλλον would, like θητενέμεν, depend on βούλεσθαι under the main ἂν construction.

Excising ἂν πεπονθέναι in both places, we should translate somewhat as follows: 'Do you think he would be desirous . . . and envy . . . and not rather, in the words of Homer, most emphatically wish for "servitude, upon earth, with a portionless man" and for anything whatsoever rather than for that manner of life and opinions such as those?'

If this treatment be considered too drastic, I suggest that the second ἂν πεπονθέναι (after ὅτιοῦν) be omitted.

In the reply, πεπονθέναι again is not essential, but ἂν certainly is. Instances of δέχομαι with an infinitive, and also of μᾶλλον ἂν δεξαίμεν=*malim*, are numerous—e.g. *Gorg.* 469 c, σὺ ἄρα τυραννεῖν οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο; *Symp.* 209 c, πᾶς ἂν δέξαιτο ἐάντῳ τοιοῦτους παῖδας μᾶλλον γεγενῆναι ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους.

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### PROCOPIUS, *HIST. ARC.* xv. 25-35

In this passage Procopius describes Theodora's outrageous treatment of a venerable patrician, οὐπερ ἐγὼ τὸ ὄνομα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς ἡκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι, ὡς μὴ ἀπέραντον τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριν ποιήσωμαι. Learning that this person intended to appeal to her for help in the recovery of a debt, she instructed her eunuchs to form a ring round him when he entered, ἐπακούειν δὲ αὐτῇ φθεγγομένη, ὑπειπουσα ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι δεῖ. The old man uttered an impassioned appeal: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἀπεκρίνατο ἐμμελῶς, "πατρικίε ὁ δεῖνα", καὶ ὁ τῶν εὐνούχων χορὸς ὑπολαβὼν ἀντεφθέγγετο "μεγάλην κήλην ἔχεις".

This royal jest calls for little discussion in substance, though it may well be, as Mr. A. S. F. Gow has suggested to me, that κήλη means 'hump'—a visible defect—and not 'hernia' as editors have assumed: but its form deserves more attention than it has received. Only Orelli seems to have noticed that the words of Theodora and her eunuchs have a metrical character. Orelli wrote (p. 282 of his edition 1827) 'Ceterum Πατρικίε ὁ δεῖνα Μεγάλην κήλην ἔχεις sunt versus Anacreontici quos Theodora cum eunuchis suis canentes illudebant hunc Patricium'. This note, which I found after forming

my own conclusions, must, I think, imply scansion by accent, and Orelli's failure to make this plain perhaps explains the neglect of his observation by later editors and by historians of Byzantine metric. The words are, in truth, good accentual Anacreontics, but two considerations are against so taking them. First, the Anacreontic at Byzantium was a learned literary form, and accentual Anacreontics are hardly credible in the sixth century: Mullah, in his *Conjectaneorum Byzantinorum Libri Duo*, 1852, p. 25, quotes examples, but only from very late writers. Secondly, and more important, Orelli started with a false assumption: whatever Theodora chanted, it was not Πατρίκιε ὁ δεῖνα but Πατρίκιε followed by a proper name in the vocative. If we assume that the old man bore one of the countless Byzantine four-syllable names which are proparoxytone in the vocative—Callinicus, Procopius, Theodorus, for example—the words form a perfect 'political' verse:

Πατρίκιε <Θεόδωρε>—Μεγάλην κήλην ἔχεις.

There seems to be little evidence for

true 'political' verses earlier than the popular acclamations, ascribed to the sixth and seventh centuries, which are preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (see Krumbacher<sup>2</sup>, p. 650, and P. Maas in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1912, p. 28), and our line would be a very early example of the type. It is interesting to observe that its use here has an appropriate double flavour of popular buffoonery and ecclesiastical poetry. I cannot, indeed, trace ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι as a term of church music, but in view of the common usage of ἀντίφωνα and ἀντιψάλλειν and of the words ἐμμελῶς and χορός in Procopius' narrative, Dewing's note 'The eunuchs were to "respond" like priests in the modern Orthodox Church service' seems convincing.

It is amusing to notice that Procopius, with characteristic malice, has given his readers some help (though not much) towards identifying the old gentleman whose anonymity he would be thought so careful to preserve.

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## QUINTILIAN, xii. 10. 27-8.

Namque est ipsi statim sonis durior [sc. Latina facundia], quando et iucundissimas ex Graecis litteras non habemus (vocalem alteram, alteram consonantem, quibus nullae apud eos dulcius spirant, quas mutuari solemus, quoties illorum nominibus utimur: quod cum contingit, nescio quo modo velut hilarior protinus renidet oratio, ut in 'zephyris' et 'zopyris'; quae si nostris litteris scribantur, surdum quiddam et barbarum efficient), et velut in locum earum succedunt tristes et horridae, quibus Graecia caret.

8 zephyris B, epiris b, ephiris H, zopyris BnN, zophiris Bg, zophiis P<sup>1</sup>, zephyris bH 10 sed velut B, sonum sed velut P, sonum et velut b (H)

THE problems contained in this passage have never been satisfactorily elucidated. I have quoted Radermacher's text, except that I have followed Halm and Meister in reading *et* for *sed* in l. 10. Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, ii. 358) showed that this *et* and the *et* before *iucundissimas* above are correlative, and that the words *quod cum contingit* . . . *efficient* are parenthetic; with this Halm and Meister

agree, but not Radermacher. I have extended the parenthesis back to *vocalem*, for the sake of greater clarity, and have repunctuated accordingly.

In reading *zephyris et zopyris* in l. 8, Radermacher has returned to the text of Gesner, Capperonnier, Burman, and earlier editors. Spalding and Bonnell read *Ephyris et Zephyris*, Halm and Meister adopt Christ's proposal *zephyris et zophoris*. The decision depends upon the interpretation of the passage as a whole: which are the letters to which Quintilian refers?

Radermacher returns, rightly in my view, to the opinion that the *iucundissimae litterae* are *v* and *ζ*; this was held by Burman, Capperonnier, and Rollin, as well as by Guthrie in his translation of 1756. Gesner thought that the letters meant are *v* and *φ*, in which he was followed by Spalding-Buttmann, Bonnell, Halm, and Meister, as well as by

Watson and Butler in their translations, and by Cousin in his *Études sur Quintilien* (Paris, 1936). Radermacher's reading makes each illustration contain an example of both letters, to match his view of the meaning.

The passage must be considered in its relation to the similar discussion in Cicero, *Orat.* 160; here, after commenting on the new fashion of aspirating consonants in such forms as *triumphus*, *pulcher*, etc., Cicero continues: "'Bur-rum" semper Ennius, nunquam "Pyrrhum"; "vi patefecerunt Bruges", non "Phryges"; ipsius antiqui declarant libri: nec enim Graecam litteram adhibebant, nunc autem etiam duas.' He adds some further remarks on the point, and ends with a note on the obsolete fashion of dropping a final *s* before another consonant. Sandys, in his note ad loc., adduces convincing argument that Cicero refers, in the words 'nunc autem etiam duas', to the borrowing of *v* and *z*, not *v* and *φ* as previous editors had generally supposed. His reasoning need not be recapitulated here; it becomes even clearer if it is realized that the words 'nunc autem etiam duas' are entirely parenthetical and have nothing to do with the examples from old Latin just quoted, and that at the words "'Burrum" semper Ennius' Cicero has left his discussion of aspiration for a fresh point, the borrowing of *y* (itself in turn followed by a third change, not relevant here). The fact that one of Cicero's illustrations contains *ph* has obscured the whole issue: neither *p* nor *h* is a borrowed letter, nor could *φ* be divorced from *χ* and *θ* if Cicero had meant to draw attention to it. It may be added that *y* and *z* are constantly mentioned by the grammarians as the 'Graecae litterae', borrowed *propter nomina Graeca*—see Keil's *Grammatici Latini* passim<sup>1</sup>—while both Suetonius (*Aug.*

88) and Cicero (*N.D.* ii. 93) show definitely that the Latin alphabet proper ended with *x*.

Now Quintilian surely had this passage of Cicero and these same borrowings in mind; he uses the same examples *Burrus* and *Bruges* in i. 4. 15 (to illustrate the change from *B* to *P*), and with his interest in grammar and orthography it is impossible that he should not be alluding here to the recognized 'borrowed letters', *y* and *z* (cf. i. 4. 7). Like Cicero, he is not concerned with either the letters or the sound *ph*, the occurrence of which in one of his examples is entirely fortuitous. And if the letters in question are *y* and *z*, Radermacher's reading 'zephyris et zopyris' is the only one which makes both illustrations apposite to both letters. It may be urged that the second is a curious choice: but the number of available words containing both *y* and *z* is limited, and the example is no odder than Christ's proposal *zophoris*. There is a plant *zopyron* mentioned in Pliny, *NH* xxiv. 137, but it seems scarcely likely that Quintilian would know of it: although it is worth noting in this connexion that in viii. 3. 8 (a passage which suggests that his interest in gardening was not entirely rhetorical) he mentions the *anemone*, a word used elsewhere only by Pliny (according to Lewis and Short, who do not quote the instance from Quintilian). Another possibility that cannot be ruled out is that he is thinking of the name *Zopyrus*: he himself mentions a rhetorician of that name from Clazomenae (iii. 6. 3), and there were several other historical personages of the same name. The plural is difficult to explain, except on the

has *hymnus* for *Hylas*, and transliterates *zephyrus* as *diefsrus*. Neither passage provides reliable evidence for the transliterated form of *zephyrus*, as the MSS. vary considerably (and in any case the period is too late to be relevant here); but it should be noted that Victorinus does not substitute *f* for *ph*. No other grammarian illustrates the 'borrowed letters' by *zephyrus*: can Victorinus have had Quintilian in mind, and can Quintilian actually have written in *Hyla et zephyris*? *Hyla* might well have proved too much for a scribe, and a corruption or lacuna might have resulted which was ultimately filled by one of the stopgaps in our MSS.

<sup>1</sup> One of these passages is interesting. Maximus Victorinus writes (Keil, *GL* vi. 196. 3) 'quae sunt litterae peregrinae? Y et Z. quare peregrinae? siquidem a nobis propter Graeca nomina adsumptae sunt, ut puta "Hylas", "zephyrus". quae si adsumptae non essent, Hulas et sdepherus dicemus.' A similar statement is made by the grammarian Audax (*ibid.* vii. 326. 25), except that he



ground that, having for some reason chosen to put *zephyrus* into the plural (perhaps to mean 'words like *zephyrus*'), Quintilian used the plural for his second example also. Radermacher's reading seems preferable, in my opinion, to any of the suggested alternatives, unless Maximus Victorinus (see footnote) provides us with a clue along wholly different lines.

Quintilian now continues: 'if these words (*quae*, sc. *verba*) should be written *nostris litteris*, the resulting sound will be unpleasant'. How would they be transliterated without having recourse to *y* and *z*? Sandys, in his note on *Orat.* 160 (where he very properly takes Quintilian to refer to *v* and *z*),<sup>1</sup> transliterates ZEPHYRIS as SEFVRIS, and comments: 'Here the fact that the combination PH does not occur in old Latin leads him not only to transliterate Y and Z, as V and S, but also PH as F, thereby introducing one more *littera horrida* of which he proceeds to give a description' [in § 29]. This, however, involves two false assumptions, (1) that Quintilian already has in mind the letter *f*, (2) that at this period *f* would be used to transliterate *ph*. As to (1), I am sure that Quintilian is not concerning himself here with *ph* at all as part of his argument: its occurrence is merely incidental to one of his illustrations of the borrowing of *y* and *z*. As to (2), the earliest instances of Greek *φ* being transliterated by *f* come from Pompeii, and obviously reflect the orthography of the *sermo plebeius*: such a transliteration did not come into regular use until a much later period (see Leumann-Hofmann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, p. 131; Kühner, i, p. 45). In fact, Sandys's introduction of *f* at this point is quite misleading; this is clear when it is realized that we have to deal here with part of a parenthesis, and that the description of *f* in § 29 lies altogether outside it. Actually the transliteration of ZEPHYRI would not necessarily involve any change in the

*ph*, for both *p* and *h* are 'nostrae litterae': however, in purely Latin orthography it would probably have been spelt SEPVRI, or in much earlier days SEBVRI (cf. *Bruges* for *Phryges*); this is evident from the discussion of aspirated consonants in i. 5. 20; similarly, ZOPYRI would become SOPVRI. Such is the orthography which, to Quintilian's ear, results in a sound that is *surdus et barbarus*.

After the words *surdum quiddam et barbarum efficient* the long parenthesis ends, and Quintilian resumes the main thread of his argument, which therefore runs 'quando et iucundissimas ex Graecis litteras non habemus . . . et velut in locum earum succedunt tristes et horridae, quibus Graecia caret'. What are these letters of the second group? Not now *s* and *u*, obviously; for although Attic Greek did not possess the fuller -oo- sound of the Roman *u*, it did possess both voiced and unvoiced *s*. Further, although Quintilian is primarily concerned with unpleasant sounds that Greek lacks, he is plainly thinking also of actual characters foreign to the Greek alphabet. The solution can be found if we remember that these words now under consideration are parallel to the clause *et iucundissimas . . . non habemus*, and have nothing to do with the train of thought contained in the parenthetic statement immediately preceding. Not realizing this, commentators have thought that the letters 'quibus Graecia caret' must be the same as the Roman equivalents of the 'iucundissimae litterae' which have just been discussed, imagining further that Quintilian has been speaking of *u* and *f* being used for *v* and *φ*.

All commentators and translators have found it convenient to ignore the significant word *velut*. Quintilian uses the phrase *in locum succedere* a number of times, and never elsewhere with such an apology. Its meaning here, without *velut*, could presumably only be that the *litterae tristes et horridae* actually take the place of the *iucundissimae ex Graecis*; but with *velut* added the implication is different. Quintilian makes

<sup>1</sup> So also does Marouzeau, *Traité de Stylistique appliquée au Latin*, p. 8, although he does not mention the difficulties of the passage. He reads *zephyris et zophoris*.

it plain that he is not speaking of direct equivalents for the *incundissimae litterae*, but of others which 'occupy their room, so to speak'. Latin, he says, *both* has a gap which in Greek is attractively filled, *and* makes up for this gap in its own way by possessing some peculiarly Roman discords, which, as it were, move into the place left vacant. The addition of *velut* is necessary to make this clear.

The meaning now becomes evident if the passage is read in its full context. In § 27 Quintilian has stated that in his view Latin is *ipsis statim sonis durior*. He gives two main reasons for his opinion: (1) Latin lacks certain pleasant-sounding Greek letters, (2) Latin possesses certain unpleasant-sounding letters which Greek lacks. The whole passage from § 27 to § 32 forms a somewhat loosely knit argument in illustration. He explains his first point by two examples of the use of the 'foreign' letters *y* and *z*, in a parenthesis; the second is explained in §§ 29 and 30—*nam et illa* (§ 29) is correlative with *duras et illa syllabas facit* (§ 30), and the letters which Greek lacks are seen to be *f* and *q*. Between his remarks on these two letters is sandwiched a note on digamma, no doubt inserted at this point because of the similarity in appearance of that letter to the Latin *F*. Quintilian speaks of digamma as a sound which Latin possesses, though without the means of representing it by a separate letter; presumably he regards its loss to Attic

Greek as an advantage, for he evidently includes it here as another of the unpleasant sounds which Greek does not possess.

After his account of *q*, he rounds off his thesis on the handicaps of Latin speech by mentioning some further points in which Greek is superior: (1) the Latin termination *-m* is less euphonic than the corresponding Greek forms in *-ν*, (2) Latin syllables ending in *b* and *d* are so harsh that even the Romans themselves have recourse to expedients for avoiding such sounds. The second point is illustrated as regards *b* but not as regards *d*: perhaps Quintilian has in mind the loss of final *d* in the ablative (cf. i. 7. 12), or such forms as *arvehant*, *arvectum*, which are found in Cato (*de agri cult.* 135. 7, 138. 1), or possibly spellings such as *aput*, *haut*.

Consistent sense can now be made of the whole passage. Briefly, Quintilian considers in order (1) *y* and *z*; (2) *f*, with a note on digamma; (3) *q*; (4) *m*, *b*, and *d*, with a casual reference to *s*, which is *absona et ipsa* (§ 32). It is the lack of the first group, except in transliterated Greek words, and the possession of (2) and (3) that primarily make Latin *ipsis statim sonis durior*: the exigencies of Latin accident (4) detract further from euphony. Quintilian may have had a super-sensitive ear, but that does not belong to this discussion.

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### SOME NOTES ON THE TEXT OF FLORUS

THE progress of the art of textual criticism could hardly have a better illustration than in the gradual improvement which has taken place, in the face of great difficulties, in the text of Florus' *Epitome of Roman History*. The best MSS. are carelessly written and corrupt, especially in the numerous proper names which occur; but now, except for a few lacunae and several hopelessly corrupt passages, the text has been established on a thoroughly sound basis, thanks to the labours of

Aldus, Vinetus, Salmasius, Freinsheim, Graevius, and Duker in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Seebode, Jahn, Halm, and Rossbach (R) (whose text published by Teubner in 1896 remains the standard edition) in the nineteenth.

The *Codex Bambergensis* (B), of the ninth century, was first recognized as the best authority by Seebode and belongs to a class by itself; but closely allied to it are the lengthy quotations made by the historian Jordanes (I) in

the sixth century, whose work survives in a number of MSS. Another family of MSS. is best represented by the *Codex Nazarianus vel Palatinus* (N), of the ninth century, and the *Codex Leidensis Vossianus* (L), of the eleventh century, which sometimes give the correct reading where B is unintelligible.

The following notes give some tentative suggestions for the further improvement of the text, supplementary to those made in the *apparatus criticus* of my Loeb edition (1929). The references are to the Teubner edition (T.).

i. 1 (i. 2. 2), T, p. 9, l. 20. Rossbach's insertion of *creavit* is unnecessary, since the sense can be supplied from *docuit*; the use of zeugma is not uncommon in Florus, the most striking example being perhaps *aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant* (ii. 30 (iv. 12. 37), T, p. 176, l. 5).

i. 1 (i. 7. 7), T, p. 14, l. 4. R reads *vellet intellegi quasi* (BI *qua*: NL *quae*) *superbia sileret* (codd. sic) *respondit*, which gives good sense and is quite in the manner of Florus. There is, however, no reason why the MS. reading *vellet intellegi—qua superbia!*—*sic respondit*. The insertion of exclamatory parentheses of this kind is exceedingly common in Florus: e.g. i. 40 (iii. 5. 22), T, p. 99, l. 7, *regemque fugientem media nactus Armenia—quanta felicitas viri!—uno proelio confecit*, and ii. 19 (iv. 9. 4), T, p. 163, l. 20, *missus a Cassio Brutoque—qui furor scelerum!—solicitaverat hostes in auxilium*.

i. 40 (iii. 5. 13), T, p. 97, ll. 12 ff. R reads, with the MSS., *quippe rex Asia et Europa quodam modo inescatus non iam quasi alienam, sed, quia amiserat, quasi raptam belli iure repetebat*. If *rex Asia* is retained, it appears necessary

to read *alienas . . . raptas*; but more probably the reading given by N only, *rex Asiae*, is correct, in which case the following *et* should be omitted.

ii. 5 (iii. 17. 4), T, p. 121, l. 11. R reads *unde et nata Livio Druso aemulatio* (B *unde et natalium druso aemulatio accesserat*, NL *unde et nataliui druso aemulatio accesserat*). It is difficult thus altogether to ignore *accesserat*, which occurs in all the best MSS.; it is possible that it is the corruption of an infinitive balancing *adserere*, such as *arcessire*, in which case *arcessire equitem . . . adserere* will mean, 'Servilius Caepio called for the help of the knights, while Livius Drusus supported the senate' (*adserere* is a very favourite word in Florus in the sense of 'vindicate', 'defend').

ii. 6 (iii. 18. 12), T, p. 124, l. 4. The editors read *ipse Iulius Caesar* (B *illius Caesar*: L *Iulius ipse*); if this is correct, Florus has made one of his not infrequent historical mistakes, since L. Julius Caesar was censor in the following year and therefore cannot have been killed. Since his fellow-consul P. Rutilius Rufus perished (Liv. *Per.* 73), it is possible that *illius* is a corruption of Rutilius and that we should read *Rutilius ipse*.

ii. 13 (iv. 2. 45), T, p. 146, ll. 1 ff. B reads *plausum theatri sui audiens in modum planctus circumsonatus et*. R, following Mommsen, adopts B's reading, substituting *plausu* for *plausum* and omitting *audiens*. It is difficult to believe that *audiens* did not occur in the archetype; it is possible that the corruption lies in *circumsonatus* and that we should read *plausum theatri sui audiens . . . circumsonantem*.

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#### PINDAR, OLYMP. iii. 26

SOME surprise has been felt (see for instance Farnell's note on the passage, vol. ii, p. 28 of his edition) that the epithet *ἰπποδία* is given to Artemis, who notoriously has little to do with horses. But a few lines farther on Pindar calls her Orthosia, which is indication enough that he is identifying her, as indeed was commonly done, with the Spartan Orthia. That Orthia was interested in horses is strongly indicated by the archaeological evidence. Figures of horses and representations of them on plaques and in other

art-forms were among the commonest votive offerings at her shrine on the bank of the Eurotas; see 'Artemis Orthia' (J.H.S., Supplementary Vol. iii), pp. 189-90, 217, 241, 262, 266, 269, 271, 276, with the accompanying figures in the text, and plates lxxv-lxxvii, lxxvii-lxxix, civ. 1, cxvi. 1, cxxviii. 2, and clxxi. 2. Pindar may have felt the identification particularly appropriate since he is alluding to the events supposed to have taken place in Lakonia, whereby the wonderful hind came into existence.

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PINDAR, *PYTH.* iv. 265

THE oak, if ever it cometh at last to the wintry fire, *δίδοι ψῆφον περ' αὐτᾶς*. 'Furnishes the means of forming a judgement concerning itself' (Donaldson); 'puts its own case to the vote' (Gildersleeve, quoting also Jebb, 'enables one to judge of it'); 'gives proof of itself' (Fennell, followed by Sandys); 'giveth token of that it was' (Myers); 'giveth true verdict of itself' (Farnell). The only translator who has hit on something like the literal truth is Gildersleeve; but his hit is a fluke, for he adds 'ἐπιψηφίζεν'.

On the phrase *ψῆφον δίδοναι* (περί τινος) L.S. is unhelpful, and worse. The eighth edition, s.v. *δίδωμι*, quotes Dem. 542. 18 (= 21. 87) for the sense 'give a vote'; the meaning there is 'put the vote', of *ὁ πρωτανεύων*. The ninth edition, s.v. *δίδωμι*, corrects this error, but s.v. *ψῆφος* it adds another of its own, quoting Dem. 21. 188 for the sense 'put the vote, of the president'. The passage referred to is *ἔχων τὰ πᾶνδία τοῖς αἰσίοις δοῦναι τὴν ψῆφον ὑμᾶς*, and the subject is the defendant, Meidias.

Neither L.S. nor any editor of Pindar I have consulted refers to the technical use of *ψῆφον δίδοναι* which underlies Pindar's metaphor (although, as Professor D. S. Robertson points out to me, Dissen ad loc. and Leopold Schmidt quoted by Mezger ad loc. may have assumed a knowledge of it in their readers). It occurs in *γεγύνασι διαψηφίσεις ἐν τοῖς δήμοις, καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ψῆφον δέδωκε περὶ τοῦ σώματος, ὅστις Ἀθηναῖος ὄντως ἐστὶ καὶ ὅστις μὴ* (Aeschines, *Tim.* 77; cf. 79). Here *περὶ τοῦ σώματος* is *περὶ αὐτοῦ*, and the Loeb translation is 'We have been having revisions of

the citizen-lists in the demes, and each one of us has submitted to a vote regarding himself, to determine whether he is a genuine citizen or not'.

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HANNO, *PERIPLUS* 3 (G.G.M. i. 3)

*Κάπειτα πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀναχθέντες ἐπὶ Σολόεντα, Λιβυκὸν ἀκρωτήριον λάσιον δένδρεσι, συνήλθομεν.*

If we keep this, the text of the unique MS. (Heidelb. 398, s. x), we must suppose that after founding Thymiatium Hanno broke up his fleet into two or more divisions, which proceeded separately to Cape Solois: cf. Kluge, whose note Müller quotes with tacit approval, 'Igitur singulae (!) naves diversum cursum tenebant, et promontorium Solois classi communis erat conveniendi locus.' But surely this would be a strange proceeding for the leader of a pioneering periplus, and if Hanno had for some reason resorted to it, he would surely have said so explicitly. It would seem that we have to do with a text corrupted by quasi-dittography and for *δένδρεσι*, *συνήλθομεν* should read *δένδρεσιν, ἦλθομεν*. Cf. § 6 *κάκειθεν δ' ἀναχθέντες ἦλθομεν ἐπὶ κτλ.* (cf. §§ 9, 10, 14); §§ 8, 17 *ἀφικόμεθα*.

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## LUCRETIUS, i. 744

*aëra solem imbrem terras animalia fruges  
imbrem scripsimus: ignem codd. edd.*

C. BAILEY.

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Oxford.

## REVIEWS

## AN INTERIM EDITION OF THUCYDIDES

Thucydidis *Historiae*. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Henricus STUART JONES, apparatus criticum correxuit et auxit Joannes Enoch POWELL. 2 vols. (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.) Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942.<sup>1</sup> Cloth, 5s. net each.

THE publication of new papyri and Mr. Powell's fruitful investigations into the history of the text have made a new edition of Thucydides necessary. Mr. P. proposes to give us anon the edition required by the new knowledge. Meanwhile he has renovated the Oxford edition under the restrictive condition that the text should be left *paene intactus* and the apparatus altered only so far as that could be done without

affecting pagination. The result is an edition which will be much more useful than that of 1900-2 but can only be regarded as a stopgap pending the appearance of Mr. P.'s *propria editio*.

The few misprints in the text which I had noted in the old edition have all disappeared (but *Χις* still figures in the Index, which remains not quite complete). Effect has been given to the findings of Mr. P.'s valuable study of the reflexive in Thucydides (*C.Q.* xxviii) practically everywhere except where *ἐαυτ-* is involved. I have observed only ten other changes of text, three of which are conjectures (ii. 73. 2; vii. 4. 1 and 7. 1). On the other hand, the imperfect of *ἐναντιοῦσθαι* is still variously spelt, and an obsolete feature in the accentuation persists.

With the apparatus Mr. P. has had

<sup>1</sup> Preface dated 1 Jan. 1938.



a much freer hand. It is sometimes increased by two lines, at least once by three.

The chief changes in the citation of the MSS. are the substitution of <G>, i.e. 'G, as may be inferred from its apographa', for [G], i.e. 'G not available', and the much more frequent appearance of 'recc.'. This is a great gain. Unfortunately nothing has been done to clear up or even point out the ambiguity attaching to the silences of the apparatus or remove definite inconsistencies. Thus at iii. 75. 3 we are told that six of the chief MSS. read *διοσκούρων*, but at iv. 110. 1 we are not told that all seven have *διοσκοῦρ(ε)ιον*. Indeed, Mr. P. darkens counsel by inserting at v. 14. 3 the note 'γεγένητο codd., corr. Stahl', while leaving the other unaugmented pluperfects of the MSS. unmentioned, and by failing to note that in vii. 60. 4 *Π*<sup>18</sup> has τὰ ἄλλα (cf. iv. 38. 4 *al.*). The reader should have been warned that *δέρσεος* in ii. 75. 5 has no MS. warrant. About forty references to 'Schol.' have been dropped as invalid.

The citation of the thirty papyri, only two of which were available forty years ago, constitutes the greatest advance of the new edition. Most of what one wants to know about the readings of most of them is given, and that in a very convenient manner. Unfortunately here again one misses a statement of what is excluded, but presumably it is by inadvertence that no mention is made of *πιστεύοντες* in iv. 36. 2 or of the omission of *τι* in viii. 92. 2 and that it is implied by silence that *Π*<sup>9</sup> has *ἐκάτερος* in ii. 22. 3 and *πρώτος* in ii. 25. 2 and *Π*<sup>18</sup> *κατειλημμένων* and *Σικελιωτῶν* in vii. 57. 11 (l. 16). *Π*<sup>8</sup>, as a commentary on ii. 1-45 with many lemmata, occupies to some extent a peculiar position. Nothing is said about its being differently treated in the

apparatus, but collation with the text of the papyrus shows that in its case we are meant to infer nothing from silence. It also reveals that much evidence from its lemmata is omitted: thus in the apparatus on the pages covering roughly 37. 1 to 40. 3 (the new edition damnably iterates the old in lacking page-numbers) they provide evidence on five out of twelve readings in regard to which it is not cited, while its novel reading *τῆς γῆς* in ii. 21. 2 is ignored.

The citation of testimonia shows less change than could have been wished. Thus we do not learn of the support of the MSS. by Porphyry in i. 3. 4 and by D. Hal., Max. Tyr., Hsch., Schol. Pind. in i. 24. 1, or of the support of CG/Π<sup>14</sup> by Plutarch and Syrianus in ii. 60. 5, of ABEFM by Aristides in ii. 65. 6, and of B by St. Byz. in viii. 24. 3. Silence still reigns on the strange corruption of *ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς* in v. 103. 2, variously attested in some MSS., a scholium, Dio Cassius and D. Hal. Valla gets new mention at v. 105. 2, but not at i. 140. 1; vii. 55. 2; 57. 6; 68. 1; 81. 3; viii. 23. 5; 54. 3 (cf. C.Q. xxiii, pp. 11 ff.).

Mr. P.'s researches have enabled him to substitute 'recc.' for an emendator's name in many places, as well as to correct other attributions. One or two have still to be corrected, and Stuart Jones has accidentally been deprived of two conjectures. The wretched word 'vulgo' has all but vanished from the apparatus.

Mr. P.'s own edition, which will show a markedly novel text, will form a landmark in the critical study of Thucydides. Meanwhile this edition is indispensable, superseding all others except that for certain information one must still go to Hude's much larger *editio maxima*.

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## EURIPIDES

G. M. A. GRUBE: *The Drama of Euripides*. Pp. viii+456. London: Methuen, 1941. Cloth, 22s. 6d. net.

As this review will probably sound very critical, its writer ought to make clear his opinion that this is an important, comprehensive, and valuable study which should be fully considered by all those interested in Euripides. Mr. Grube writes as one convinced that Euripides is 'a great artist of the theatre', and his purpose is, by a sober study of the dramatic facts, to clear away misconceptions due both to admirers and to detractors of the poet. In one direction his criticism is strangely limited, but in general he holds the stick firmly by the right end, and when his conclusions do not win assent they do at least command respect.

The limitation is the almost complete ignoring of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Euripides is studied almost in a vacuum; so much so that the writer can suggest a connexion between the withdrawal of the Chorus in the *Alcestis* and the *Helen* and the fact that these two plays have a strong flavour of comedy. He forgets, apparently, that the Chorus withdraws too in the *Eumenides* and the *Ajax*. The busy reader should be warned that this limitation is most marked in the Introduction, which is the least satisfactory part of the book. 'The main reason [for the grudging admiration of Euripides] lies in Euripides' refusal to ignore unpleasant realities. He brought tragedy down from heaven and planted it solidly on earth. The result is shocking and devastating to those who like to live upon illusions. . . . Euripides was a realist, and he made drama real because he made it true to life as he saw it. . . . He was tempted to "debunk" the epic characters that strutted across the tragic stage, unchallenged to his day.' So Aeschylus did ignore unpleasant realities, and did not make his plays true to life as he saw it? Does Oedipus 'strut'? Can Mr. Grube be unaware that there are many who are not in the least perturbed by Euripides'

'realism'—a term which space does not allow me to challenge—but are chilled, perhaps even 'devastated', by his style and manner? Whatever may have been written during the last century by a few sentimentalists who disliked Euripides because they had never properly understood Aeschylus, this is the Euripidean problem to-day, and on this Mr. Grube does not say much to help us.

This is a serious limitation, and it makes itself felt here and there when structural points are under consideration, for the reader feels that reference to Aeschylus or Sophocles might have further tested and perhaps modified the conclusion arrived at; but criticism is a wide field, and the author offers the reader much good sense and sound judgement. An interesting chapter 'Obstacles for the Modern Reader' has its warnings for the expert as well as for the uninstructed reader of Greek tragedy. We may not commit Verrall's mistake of seeing Euripides through the eyes of a Victorian atheist, but there are other pitfalls of which it is well to be reminded.

In an excellent chapter on the gods Mr. Grube argues that Euripides is no militant atheist, and that his gods are always real; that is to say, in the *Hippolytus* he was not trying to suggest that such a goddess as Aphrodite could not exist. I do not know how vigorous Verrallianism still is, but here it is dispassionately disposed of. 'Euripides presents the gods not as they ought to be, but as they are.' The argument is convincing, except that it makes no distinctions between gods; surely to Euripides the god of Delphi was quite a different kind of thing from the goddess of Love, or Dionysus? Not admitting this, Mr. Grube has to argue rather hard about the treatment of Apollo in plays like the *Ion* and the *Electra*.

Three chapters deal with dramatic methods; one on Prologues and Epilogues, one on the Chorus, and one on the 'Problem of Relevance'—episodic

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scenes, detached odes, 'philosophical' passages, and anachronisms. His general view is that the irrelevancies have been greatly exaggerated; that, with a few exceptions, the passages objected to are, in substance, suitable to the dramatic context; that often there is a 'general relevance', as in the odes of the *Troades* and the *Hecuba*, which may have no direct connexion with *Hecuba*, but are closely related to the theme of the plays. In some cases the defence is good; in others, it assumes rather too easily that a passage is relevant and dramatic merely because it is possible and not unconnected with the subject-matter.

There is an interesting explanation of the prologues. The modern plot is complete in itself, while the plot of all ancient tragedies is part of a legend with a past and a future. 'If the ancient dramatist dramatized the murder of Clytemnestra, then the Trojan War, the death of Agamemnon, and the later fate of Orestes were present to his mind and to that of his audience.' This gives to ancient drama its peculiar perspective. Now Euripides threw a more searching light on individual character and psychology than his predecessors; and it was to balance this, to maintain the larger perspective in spite of the closer concentration on the particular incident and the particular characters, that Euripides extended his sweep fore and aft by means of prologue and epilogue.—But Sophocles did dramatize the murder of Clytemnestra without a prologue (in this sense of the word), and, more surprisingly, without an epilogue; and surely Euripides, at least in his real tragedies, never achieves a sharper character-study than Sophocles' study of *Electra*. But although Mr. Grube does not seem to have solved the most difficult structural problem which Euripides puts to his critics, his careful analysis clearly establishes that the prologue is not a mere 'playbill', but an integral part of the drama, with a dramatic colour and often a dramatic development of its own, and that the

epilogue is never a mere appendage, and is never used simply to cut the knot. On the chorus too Mr. Grube has some good things to say (particularly on the 'ideal spectator'). It gives one a shock to read '. . . the ode which merely comments on the immediate situation (they do much more than this even in Aeschylus) . . .'; and the reader may disagree with Mr. Grube's estimate of what is dramatic and what is relevant, but he will learn much from his patient analysis of the facts.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the discussion of the separate plays. Here too Mr. Grube is sensible and judicious; particularly good (I thought) on the *Bacchae*, the *Heracles*, and the war-plays, in dealing with which he insists on the recurring double theme of suffering and vengeance; Euripides was obsessed with the moral degradation brought by war on victors and vanquished alike. The treatment of some of the non-tragic plays seems sometimes too serious; we are, for example, asked to see significance in character-drawing where it surely does not exist. Thus, the Creon-Eteocles scene in the *Phoenissae* 'throws a much-needed light on the character of Eteocles'; but is this light really needed, and does it illuminate the drama? But even when he entirely fails to convince, Mr. Grube renders his reader the service of making him reconsider his own conclusions, because his criticism, though limited, is based on the right principles.

When an author is in Canada, his publishers and printers in England, and the Battle of the Atlantic is raging between, there are no doubt great difficulties in producing a book; but even so the proof-reading should have been better done. Mistakes like 'Dodds, S. R.', 'Jebb, C. R.', false accents, and hybrids like *Parthenopaius* abound; and in a footnote on Euripides' 'sigmatism' (p. 184) sibilants are indicated in  $\eta$  and in  $\nu\tau$ .

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## PAPYRI OF GREEK POETRY

D. L. PAGE: *Greek Literary Papyri*. In 2 volumes. I. Poetry. Pp. xx+618. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1942. Cloth, 10s. (leather, 12s. 6d.) net.

THIS volume deserves a special welcome, not only for its intrinsic merits, but as a symbol of the triumph of scholarship over 'Kultur'. The entire stock of the first printing was destroyed in the air-raid which inflicted heavy losses on the publishers and booksellers of London, but Messrs. Heinemann did not allow themselves to be disheartened by that; they have enabled Mr. Page to produce a revised edition of his work.

In his preface Mr. Page writes: 'This book professes to contain all the Greek poetry which has been recovered from papyri, except (1) texts already published in other volumes of the Loeb Classical Library, (2) texts destined for publication in other volumes (e.g. the fragments of Callimachus), (3) fragments which are too small and broken to be either coherently translatable or—in our opinion—worth reprinting here for any other cause' (the chief fragments included in the third category being listed in a footnote). So far as can be ascertained by a reviewer whose military duties deny him access to libraries and works of reference, the book (with one startling exception) fully lives up to its professions, and the result is a most attractive collection of fragments, in which everyone interested in Greek literature will find something to his taste. The fragments are arranged in eight groups, the order in each group being as nearly chronological as the almost universal anonymity of the fragments permits. The first group (pp. 1–192) contains thirty-six fragments of fifth- and fourth-century tragedy, varying in length from Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, to two lines from Ion, *Omphale* (but not including Euripides, *Phaethon*). Next come the fragments of Old Comedy (193–228), the longest being from Eupolis, *Demoi*; and the third group (229–326) is devoted to Middle and New Comedy, which are repre-

sented by twenty-six fragments, the longest being one of eighty-five lines from an unidentifiable New Comedy. The most interesting of these is perhaps the fragment of Straton, *Phoenicides*, already known from Athenaeus, with its remarkable evidence of the lengths to which interpolation may go. Mime (327–72) is represented by seven fragments, some of considerable length and great interest, and is followed by twenty-one fragments of Lyric (373–436), ranging from 'Anonymous, probably Archilochus' to 'Anonymous: A schoolboy's recitation' of the fourth century A.D., and including the Sappho ostrakon. The last two sections are devoted to Elegiac and Iambic fragments (437–82)—seventeen, ranging in date from Mimnermus to '? iii A.D.', and Hexameter poems (483–608)—thirty fragments, from Panyassis to an anonymous writer of the fifth or sixth century A.D., and including Erinna's *Distaff*. There are also two indexes—of proper names occurring in the Greek texts, and of *editiones principes*.

The methods adopted by Mr. Page in establishing the text of the fragments steer a middle course between the austerity of Mr. Lobel (which would be altogether inappropriate to a Loeb edition) and the bold ingenuity of Mr. Edmonds. The conflicting desires to which the editor of papyri for the general reader is a prey are well described by Mr. Page in his preface: 'I began eager to fill every gap with flawless fragments of my own composition; I ended with the desire—too late—to remove all that is not either legible in the papyrus or replaceable beyond reasonable doubt. At the eleventh hour, indeed, I expelled handfuls of private poetry: yet far too much remains.' The general reader will not, I think, echo Mr. Page's last piece of self-criticism. The supplements by earlier scholars which Mr. Page has retained are eminently reasonable, and his own supplements make one wish that more of his 'private poetry' had escaped the eleventh-hour blue pencil.



Readers will notice one departure from the normal practice of the Loeb Library. Mr. Page has prefixed notes, in many cases of considerable length, to each fragment, giving short bibliographies and discussing the context and interpretation of the fragment. The discussions are sober and businesslike, and in no case do they seem to me to go beyond the limits of reasonable conjecture. The information which they contain should be ample for the readers for whom the work is mainly intended, and specialists too should find much to interest them. It is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Page will some day have an opportunity to do for the fragments already published in other volumes of the Loeb Library what he has done for the present collection.

Of the translations it is less easy to speak. Mr. Page has already to a great extent disarmed criticism by saying in his preface, 'Of my translations I can-

not think with any satisfaction. The insuperable difficulties of rendering Greek poetry into English are in no way mitigated when the Greek is a disjointed fragment, often obscure and controversial, sometimes highly unpoetical. The only purpose which my versions can serve is to make clear how I have understood the Greek—if I have made it clear, and if I did understand it.' The object which Mr. Page has set himself has in my judgement been attained—the versions are intelligible and show how he has taken the Greek, but the English, which is usually of a very high standard, is at times deformed by specimens of that 'translator's English' which has long been used by the modernists as a reproach to classical scholarship. But, as most people will read this book for the Greek, such occasional blemishes are of little consequence.

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#### OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XVIII. Edited with translations and notes by E. LOBEL, C. H. ROBERTS, and E. P. WEGENER. Pp. xii + 215; portrait, and 14 collotype plates. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1941. Cloth and boards, 63s.

THE preface mentions that this is the first part of the Society's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* which does not bear upon its title-page the name of one of the original editors; and all admirers of their work will be glad to find prefixed to the volume a portrait of Arthur Surridge Hunt.

The shreds of extant works are disappointing. One that shows some eighty letters from the first thirty lines of *Agamemnon* agrees in all respects with M, says the editor, except that he cannot make  $\eta$  of the letter after  $\alpha\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  in 16 and that  $\epsilon\alpha$  is excluded at the beginning of 30, where the first letter is perhaps  $\pi$ , suggesting  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ . That  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$  can denote the capture of a city is more than I know:  $\eta\ \acute{\rho}\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\ \alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha$  in Pl. *Lach.* 181 b refers to the disaster at Delium, not to what we call the fall of Athens; but perhaps examples may be adduced. The

doubt thus cast on  $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\lambda\omega\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$  will be welcome to those who dislike trisyllabic feet, but they will be sorry that the papyrus vouches for  $\gamma$ , with its first dactyl  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  and all. Another scrap of Aeschylus, with two dozen letters of *Sept.* 155 ff., tells us nothing new. Some longer pieces show bits of about 150 lines of *O.T.*, giving no support to any modern conjecture (the editor specifies Wecklein's at 420, Housman's at 422, Pearson's at 423, and Hermann's at 507); their novelties are  $\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  instead of  $\tau\acute{\omega}$  at 511, and  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ , with a  $\tau$  above the  $\sigma$ , at 417, where  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$  may be right, as the editor says. (Pearson's omission from this line, by the way, is repaired in a second impression, issued last year.) Other points of interest are  $-\xi\omega\upsilon$  at 297,  $\xi\upsilon\upsilon$ - at 401,  $-\iota\upsilon\ \beta\rho\omicron\tau\omega\upsilon$  at 427 (where L has  $-\iota$ ),  $\sigma\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\lambda\iota\upsilon$  at 430,  $\eta\delta\eta$  in the margin against 433,  $\tau$  (not  $\gamma$ ) at 516,  $[\tau\omicron\upsilon]\ \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \delta$  at 525,  $\delta\ \omicron\rho\theta\omega$ - at 528; and the omission of 531, without which Oedipus enters unannounced. Fragments of the *Phaedo*, from 75 a to 117 c, here and there support B or T or W, but not 'Ars.', against the rest, and perhaps confirm the conjecture  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$

at 100 d. There is also an eclectic text of part of Galatians i.

The new texts include a few words from an unknown work of Philo, but the chief items are from Alcaeus, Hipponax, Aeschylus, and Callimachus.

To Alcaeus belong 'two among the longest and most nearly consecutive pieces of this poet that have yet been recovered'. To students of Aeolic and its metres they will be of great interest, but they scarcely enhance his reputation; they are poetry on a low gear.

The new pieces of Hipponax, and of a commentary upon him, are less instructive about his matter and manner, but here also the specialists will find things to their purposes: more trisyllabic feet than might have been expected, frequent synizesis, and new evidence for his use of trimeters proper.

The first piece of Aeschylus, from *Γλαῦκος Πόντιος*, overlaps Nauck's fr. 30 and supports *αὐτήν* against the conjecture *αὐτόν*. Next come relics of about eighty lines, mostly trimeters, none of which can be eked out, from *Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς*. More coherent are the remains of nearly seventy lines from *Δικτυουλκοί*, which finally prove it to have been satyric. The opening trimeters are tragic in metre, and their only untragic word is *παντάσσι*: the editor's illustration of *ἀγχόνην ἄρ' ἄφομαι* by 'kick the bucket' is out of tone. But the tone changes when the bald and raddled Chorus take over. To the Chorus, by the way, not to Dictys, I would assign the passage including line 800 (so denoted by a stichometrical letter in the margin). That Dictys could have said *ὄλοιτο Δίκτυς* is shown perhaps by the editor's note: but see *ἀπόλοιθ' ὁ πατήρ μου* in *Cyclops* 272. At the end of 816 why not *ποδοῖν*? In 820 it looks as if *ἐντροπος* were an error, due to the neighbouring *τρόπον*, for *ἐντροφος*.

Nearly as much of another play is safely assigned by the editor to *Θεωροί ἢ Ἰσθμιασται*, which is proved to be satyric. To his evidence for that can be added the evidence of metre, for a trimeter ending with *φωνῆς δεῖ μόνον*, though it is not condemned by Porson's own form of his Law, is very dubious

for a tragedy, and a little later, in *ἐμελλον εὐρήσειν ἄρ' ὑμᾶς, ὠγαθοί*, we have a clear breach of the Law. The scene shows a body of satyrs, it seems, approaching Poseidon's temple with portraits of themselves in the form of statuettes or pictures; and their leader is scolded by some superior for not minding his own business:

σὺ δ' ἰσθμάξεις καὶ πίτνος ἐστ[εμμένος  
κλάδοισι κισσοῦ δ' οὐδ[α]μοῦ τιμῇ]

So two lines are printed, but it looks as if the first should have a second finite verb; perhaps *ἔστukas ἐν* with a preposition placed as in *Eum.* 238 (if the text is sound), *O.T.* 555, *Phil.* 626, *O.C.* 495. The Isthmian pine is Poseidon's tree.

Next come 'miserable fragments' of the same poet's *Μυρμιδόνες*, and then some passages from his *Ξάντριοι* which include fr. 168 N.

After Aeschylus, the author who takes most room in the volume is Callimachus, represented by fragments of his *Aitia* and *Branchos* and of his Epodes. They do not call for description here.

The 'new classical fragments' end with part of a record of a trial which belongs to the troubled history of Alexandria and perhaps to the time of Hadrian. The rest of the body of the book is taken up with 'documents' of Roman and Byzantine times, but the 'documents' include some private letters, one of which, No. 2190, will find its way into the anthologies; it is to a father from a son who has got into a scrape and is also in trouble about the teaching that he needs. Two others, 2193 and 2194, start with some Latin which presents this nice puzzle: 'Unamortis condidit deus lues autem commortis fieri'.

The editors of these documents and letters are not very punctilious about accents, but I have no other fault to find with them. Mr. Lobel's work on the classical part of the volume is such as we expect from him. What the labour of deciphering and piecing together must have been, only an expert can judge; but we can all esteem the learning, candour, and caution with which the fruits of that labour are given to the world.

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## PLATO'S THEOLOGY

Friedrich SOLMSEN: *Plato's Theology*. (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXVII.) Pp. ix+201. Ithaca: Cornell University Press (London: Milford), 1942. Cloth, 15s. 6d. net.

DR. SOLMSEN begins with the historical background, stressing the importance of religion as a unifying principle in the city-state, where civic loyalty was, as he says with some exaggeration, 'the same thing' as devotion to the city's gods. When the growth of scepticism and individualism towards the end of the fifth century endangered this religious foundation of the State, there were numerous reactions, including trials for impiety and various efforts to reconstruct religion in a purified form. Among these efforts S. counts Plato's attempt to revive belief in the gods as upholders of justice, and to restore them to their original position in the State. He suggests that Plato completely failed to achieve this aim; rather he laid the foundations of natural theology and of 'cosmic' religion and morals, which, S. thinks, 'will not do for civic needs', though suitable enough for 'citizens of the universe'. This section is the best part of the book, although there is obviously much scope for disagreement, and mistakes, of which the worst is an old blunder about Antisthenes on p. 43, are not absent.

S. finds that Plato attacks his task chiefly in three ways, by expurgation, by a philosophy of motion, and by a theory of teleology. These three 'approaches' converge in *Laws* x; but S. seems to create difficulties by contending that even there they do not meet; with the result that, e.g., the god who is 'our sovereign' and provides for the good of the Whole 'is not himself a soul'. The question what else he could be is not discussed.

The first of these approaches is illustrated by *Rep.* ii. S.'s treatment suffers from confusing religion with poetry and myth. Forgetting that Plato's main topic here is education, he imagines that *Rep.* confines religion

to the young—it is to be merely 'a preliminary influence'. But this is not true of poetry and myth. Much less is it true of religion; and the attempt to make a fundamental distinction between *Rep.* and *Laws* on this score must be reckoned a failure. The second 'approach'—the philosophy of movement—culminates in the proof of the existence of the self-moving cause in *Laws* x. Here again S. is inclined to outrun his text. For example, he takes *Soph.* 248-9 to mean that in Plato's 'later philosophy' the world of Becoming or 'physical flux' is as real as Pure Being (the Forms), and that the Forms, though in themselves fully real, would be 'condemned to unreality' if there were no real world of Becoming to be their 'theatre of realization'. The view that the world of Becoming is 'a vital necessity' to Being would have metaphysical consequences to which S. does not seem to be alive. Of those consequences there is no trace in Plato. On the contrary, to S.'s surprise, Becoming is no more real in *Tim.* and *Laws* than it was in *Rep.* Among other questionable matters may be noted S.'s belief that *Laws* x applies the Method of Division to the concept of motion, and his remark (which ignores *Rep.* 476 a) that the intercommunication of Ideas in *Soph.* is 'new'. In the treatment of the third 'approach' the most curious feature is the manner in which S. revives the notion that Plato introduces 'a bad World-Soul' in *Laws* x. S. speaks of it as 'a second soul or rather a second type of soul'. Apparently he does not see that there is any difference between recognizing the existence of an evil 'type of soul' and asserting the reality of an evil World-Soul. Later he acknowledges that 'this soul' (he should say 'this type of soul') is 'not in charge of the cosmos'. Nevertheless he declares that Plato derived from Persia 'his theory of the two antagonistic World-Souls'.

In general S. follows the now fashionable, though (as he clearly shows) unhistorical, view that the 'supreme

being' for Plato is not God but the Forms. This view is supported by the usual avowedly mythical passages from *Phaedr.* and *Tim.* The non-mythical passage *Rep.* 597 d, which refers to God as creator of the Forms, receives no mention save in an obscure footnote which merely refers to an out-of-the-way article by another writer without reporting his views or arguments. In the same note he says that the Demiurge who is 'the creator of the prototypes' of beds, tables, etc., 'is also said to create himself (596 c)'. Adam on 596 c 20 pronounced this 'an extraordinary error'. As a final example of the dis-

appointing character of most of this book I would cite the remark that the Method of Division 'builds a kind of pontoon-bridge' which, starting from the highest Idea of a class, 'finally reaches, or almost reaches', 'the concrete individual'. This riddle about a bridge which is not a bridge is aggravated by a characteristic reference to Stenzel and Cornford, as if these two authorities were in agreement with S. and with each other. Among misprints should be noted p. 136, line 21, where 'impossible' should be 'possible'.

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### ARISTOTLE AS BEHAVIOURIST

Clarence SHUTE: *The Psychology of Aristotle*. An Analysis of the Living Being. Pp. xiv+148. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Milford), 1941. Cloth, 13s. 6d. net.

To cite an example of Mr. Shute's idiom, there is in Aristotle 'an exact one-to-one correlation between the presence and absence of soul and living'. Hence he begins with the part assigned to soul in the processes of generation and growth, though it must be confessed that much of his lengthy summary of Aristotle's physiology has little more than antiquarian interest. There is a promising reference to 'contemporary psychology' in the preface; but there is practically nothing in the book about the bearing of modern scientific research on Aristotle's conclusions. Even the doctrine that there can be no thinking without a mental image is repeated without criticism, as if it had never been doubted or denied. It appears that by 'contemporary psychology' Shute rather naively means to indicate behaviourism, and that his chief aim has been to translate Aristotle into behaviouristic language.

Shute repeatedly discovers that the gist of Aristotle's teaching lies in 'his fundamental doctrine of behavior as explicable only in terms of interaction between an organism and its environment' (p. 95). But our actions may be guided or prompted by memory, by

hope and fear, by aspirations after justice, and the like. 'Environment' is stretched to include what is past and gone, what may, or may not, come to be in the future, and also ideas or ideals in the human mind. 'Response to environment' thus becomes meaningless. It is rendered doubly meaningless by the stress continually laid on the 'continuity' (Dewey's word—it seems to mean identity) 'of organism and environment'. There can be no 'interaction' between two entities which are really one and the same thing.

The attempt to read such eccentricities into Aristotle leads to fundamental distortions. Shute declares that the definition of soul as 'the first actuality of a natural body', etc., is 'in functional terms'. He means that for Aristotle soul, 'the organism's form', is 'behavior' (p. 68), that soul means 'the total activity' of a concrete individual, 'the function of a living body' (pp. 124 ff.), which is the same thing as saying (since organism and environment are one) that soul is 'a joint function of both the organism and its environment' (p. 131). He adds that Aristotle defines the practical mind as 'a function of the body'. He does not explain how Aristotle differs from Huxley, who called consciousness 'a function of nervous matter', nor why Aristotle (*De Anima*, i. 4) sought to refute such theories. It is not surprising



to find the complaint (p. 125) that Aristotle obscured this alleged doctrine of his by 'talking about soul in substantive terms'. The fact is that Shute regards soul as an accidental form, while Aristotle treats it as the substantial form, of the living body. For Aristotle, the organism's 'first actuality' is to *be* what it is. The soul as formal cause constitutes the living being in its essential nature. The second 'act' or actuality is the exercise of that nature. Shute has wrongly assigned functions and activities to the first 'act' instead of the second, has robbed soul of its substantiality and made it an attribute or an adjective. On one occasion (p. 33) he tries to be more cautious with the catchword 'function': 'Using the word in a sense analogous to its use in mathematics rather than in its biological sense, we see that the soul is a function of the organism'. But here again we have confusion, for the soul is not 'a function of', but a factor in, the organism, since it is the cause of its organization.

On one point Shute at times despairs

of making Aristotle a behaviourist: Aristotle (he thinks) was wrong in supposing that mind is not correlated with any bodily organ or operation, and should have seen that mind is a side-growth of language, evolved (p. 110) by 'the enterprise of discourse'. That is to say, the power to think arises from the power to talk, and the more noises issue from our throats the wiser we become. At other times he thinks that the mind which comes to man 'from without' really means 'the great order of nature', for soul 'is, in a sense, the entire universe', and is therefore impersonal, and its mortality is not in doubt. Shute promises (p. 54) to argue in his fourth chapter for this interpretation, which seems to me a simple misunderstanding of Aristotle on 'knowing' as a kind of 'becoming'. But apparently he forgot. In sum, this, the first number of Columbia Studies in Philosophy, does not set an exacting standard for its successors.

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### THE EPIDICUS

George E. DUCKWORTH: T. Macchi Plauti *Epidicus*, edited with Critical Apparatus and Commentary, in which is included the work of the late Arthur L. Wheeler. Pp. xi+464; 4 plates. Princeton: University Press (London: Milford), 1940. Cloth, 45s. 6d. net.

THE problems which the plays of Plautus set the commentator are many, and few are the scholars who have the courage and resolution to face them. Professor Duckworth, by giving us a full commentary on the *Epidicus*, shirking no difficulty and gathering most patiently the fruits of previous research, has laid scholarship under a heavy obligation; an obligation which the reviewer is all the more anxious to acknowledge since in a brief review adverse criticism tends to obscure recognition, however well deserved and gladly given. Let it be stated then at the outset that Duckworth's commen-

tary will be indispensable to any Latin library, and that his scholarship and industry command the highest respect.

As it is difficult to describe in a general way the merits or demerits of a running commentary, I give a few notes on the passage which I scrutinized first, the beginning of the second scene of the fourth act, 570 ff.

(572) There is no comment on *exsequi* in the rare meaning 'to seek'; the choice of the word seems influenced by the preceding *exanimata*.

(573) A conjecture is quoted, supported—and dropped without explanation. D. gives two references to recent metrical comment on the line (the second *de trop* and containing an inaccuracy), but he does not discuss Leo's significant parallel for the scansion which he rejects. In adopting a scansion with divided dactyl in the fifth foot, he refers to 602 and to his note on 526. 602 may be scanned

differently, and under 526 the only example given of divided fifth foot dactyl is—573. This seems feeble support for a metrical feature of doubtful legitimacy; but from D.'s remarks no one would gather that it is under suspicion.

(575) D. recommends the hiatus *égō hanc*. Six conjectures abolishing it are quoted, but not discussed. Few Plautine scholars will accept this hiatus; yet the only defence attempted is a reference to three authors who do (their reasons, different in each case, are not mentioned). Two of these hold views on hiatus which are generally rejected. A most misleading 'cf.' adds the name of a scholar who, in fact, considers the line corrupt and furnishes additional reason for doing so. Concerning *hanc quae siet*, prolepsis is stated to be very common in indirect questions, and several examples from Plautus are given, followed by a reference to a recent Leipzig thesis. Some comment to the effect that prolepsis, though rare in classical authors, has always been a feature of conversational speech would not have come amiss.

(576) Several parallels from Plautus and Terence are quoted for *neque scio neque novi*. Cicero, *Rosc.* 125, is omitted, and no reference is made to Landgraf's suggestion (*ad loc.*) that the idiom is conversational, or to Haffter's interesting discussion of this view (*Untersuch. z. alllat. Dichtersprache*, p. 66, n. 5).

(577) '*immutabilem*'—'Changed', as if from *immutare*; cf. 647 *siquid erit dubium, immutabo*. *Amph.* 866 *vestitum immuto meum* would be more aptly quoted. D. seems to see nothing remarkable in the purely passive meaning of *immutabilis*. F. Hanssen (*Philol.* 1, 1889, 278), reviewing the adjectives ending in *-ilis*, declared it to be unparalleled and suggested *immutatilis*, comparing 233 (*vestem*) *cumatilem aut plumatilem*; cf. *vestis plicatilis* (M. Leumann, *Adjective auf -lis*, 55). Comment is urgently required.

(578/9) The commentary quotes four conjectures combining the two fragmentary lines in one: to no purpose, since, as D. himself says, the existence

of a lacuna was subsequently confirmed by A. D. then accepts an interpretation of 579 which is inconsistent with his text. Since Plautus has no nominative plural in *-is* (only two instances in the Palimpsest according to Seyffert's index) *suis* can only be genitive singular, and more indeed is to be said for this genitive than the commentary suggests. Taking the passage as he does, D. ought to have followed Lindsay in adopting the variant *sues*; but he merely gives it the note *fort. recte*.

It will be seen from the discussion of these few lines that the commentary has certain defects. On points of language and metre it is not always sound (cf., e.g., 28, 81, 113), and there is a tendency throughout to quote too much and to prove too little. One might have expected from a commentary of this size that it would advance, for instance, the appreciation of the different linguistic elements that go to the making of Plautus' style, a task so successfully begun by H. Haffter. But we must be grateful to Professor Duckworth for having given us, with the exceptions just mentioned, 'a picture of the present state of Plautine knowledge'. This applies in particular to the many problems concerning the plot of the play and a number of apparent contradictions in it. It is here that the interest of the commentator is mainly engaged, and I am convinced that his comments mark progress in several points. I instance his proof (pp. 277 ff.) that the *fidicina* is an active partner in Epidicus' trickery. And although I do not agree with his conclusions on the notorious lines 369 f. and believe that he has not done justice to the close reasoning of A. Thierfelder, his insistence on the necessity that the price the *leno* has received should be stated to be fifty *minae* and not thirty seems to be well justified. Yet even here I cannot conceal a certain disappointment. D.'s anxiety to omit nothing that has ever been printed has led to an unfortunate result. Instead of a precise analysis of what the text means and what the implications of this meaning are, we mostly get a catalogue

of the views of other scholars, rounded off by D.'s own opinion. In the flood of theories thus quoted, the salient points of the discussion are often submerged. In the commentary, e.g., on 648 ff., neither Fraenkel's interpretation, rejecting Dziatzko's theory of a remodelling of the end of the play by Plautus, nor Jachmann's opposite view is sufficiently appreciated. In fact Jachmann is stated to 'agree with Fraenkel concerning 648-50' and to support Dziatzko's theory 'by an analysis of 651-55', whereas actually Jachmann's view is mainly based on an interpretation of 648 differing from Fraenkel's.<sup>1</sup> Again, the difficulties of 45-9 have given rise to considerable discussion (all duly reported in the commentary) prior to the appearance of Jachmann's *Plautinisches und Attisches* (1931). Then a theory of Fraenkel, published by Jachmann (and inaccurately ascribed to Jachmann by D.), convincingly solved the problem: 45-9 are a Plautine addition. D. rejects this view and falls back on an old and unsatisfactory explanation. Obviously the commentator may choose the explanation which to him appears most convincing, and the reviewer can merely state that he disagrees. Yet the way in which the Fraenkel-Jachmann view is reported and dismissed calls for criticism. I agree with D. in believing that there is 'a basic flaw in Jachmann's approach to Plautus'; Thierfelder's searching review of Jachmann's book (*Gnomon*, xi, 1935, 113-52) has revealed it in no uncertain manner. But a general reference to a flaw, however basic, in the approach to Plautus, cannot invalidate the detailed interpretation of an individual passage. Only one definite objection to the

theory thus dismissed is brought forward (under 87-90; it was answered in advance by Jachmann's footnote, p. 223), and the main argument in favour of it, viz. that the play on *animus* must be a Plautine addition and that it necessarily called for a further addition mentioning the young man's former infatuation, is not even mentioned.

The text itself is fairly conservative. Of emendations adopted which it does not share with the modern vulgate I mention e.g. those in 93, 294, and 705, the two latter certainly wrong. The editor's own suggestion *turbatur* in 560 may well be correct, although it fails to account for the reading of the MSS. Like Lindsay, D. accepts 517 ff. as they stand in P; yet, whatever one may make of 518-20 (I confess that I cannot discover the 'homoioarchton' (*sic*) to which the omission of these lines in A is said to be due), there can be little doubt that 521 must follow 517.

The apparatus gives a new collation of the Palatine MSS. (BEVJ) for which the editor is greatly to be thanked. He corrects statements of Goetz in several places (217 *portam* all MSS.; 452 *dimissis* B). In fact, Goetz's apparatus is said to contain more than fifty errors and misleading omissions in the first scene alone. I do not wish to question the accuracy of this statement, which I am unable to verify; but in the short passage for which D. provides photographs I agree with Goetz (and Lindskog, p. xiv), not with D., on the reading of B<sup>2</sup> in 51.

A metrical analysis, beautiful photographs of 47 ff. in the four Palatine MSS., a bibliography containing almost six hundred titles, and an index conclude this most sumptuous edition. The work is dedicated to the memory of the late Professor A. L. Wheeler, who had long been planning an edition of the *Epidicus*, and whose useful notes, mainly on 1-51, 104-65, and 320-50, are incorporated within square brackets.

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<sup>1</sup> In the end D. vaguely accepts the Dz.-J. theory. It is unfortunate that C. W. Keyes' paper on 'Half-sister Marriage in New Comedy and the *Epidicus*' (*T.A.P.A.* 71, 1940, 217 ff.) was published too late for D. to use. We now know that Fraenkel was right, and that the end of the Greek original was not substantially altered by Plautus.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE AENEID

Theodor W. STADLER: *Vergils Aeneis*.

Eine poetische Betrachtung. Pp.

104. Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1942. Paper.

PROBABLY everyone feels that the *Aeneid* fulfils the demand which Aristotle makes of the epic, that it should be εὐδύνοπος. How did Virgil achieve this? Stadler finds a first answer in the alternation of tone between successive books, already noticed by Conway and Heinze; he explains that the even-numbered books concentrate attention upon Aeneas and the fate he fulfils, upon the deeper meaning of the story, while the odd-numbered books lead the mind away to a variety of characters and a more superficial picture of a crowded stage; if these latter books find a place for fate, they contain preparation for what is ordained rather than its consummation. In the second place Stadler calls attention to a structural feature which often goes unnoticed. We tend to think of the *Aeneid* as falling into two equal halves, which are often compared to the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, a comparison which has its uses, although Stadler rightly finds it imperfect. But as strongly marked is the triadic structure, i-iv, v-viii, ix-xii, which gives the *Aeneid* the ἀρχή, μέσον, τελευτή required by Aristotle. Stadler labels these parts

*Bereitung, Berufung, and Beglaubigung*; and whether each can thus be summed up in a word, or no, each clearly has its own character, and is distinguished from its neighbour or neighbours by a marked change of tone. Each new part is marked by an increase of concentration: i-iv are spread over seven years and many seas; v-viii have many scenes in a short time; ix-xii are as sparing of miles as of days.

The last chapter finds in the structure of the *Aeneid* a pervasive duality, contrasted with the uniformity of the *Divina Commedia*; Virgil stands between the pagan and the Christian world, and the duality 'charms us like a phenomenon of Advent'.

It is to be hoped that this summary indicates that the book contains interesting matter as well as fanciful; and if it does not do justice to the author's argument, which is supported by references to the literature of several languages, perhaps one may plead that that argument depends to some extent on the ingemination of words like *diastolisch-systolisch*, *Valenzstufen*, *ad-astra-Bewegtheit*, to whose charms the English ear is, 'inappellabel-endgiltig', deaf.

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## MORE OF THE LOEB PLINY

Pliny, *Natural History*. With an English translation by H. RACKHAM. Vol. II.

*Libri III-VII*. Pp. x+664. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1942. Cloth, 10s. (leather, 12s. 6d.) net.

ADMIRATION for Mr. Rackham's endurance increases with each instalment of the Loeb Pliny; and it may be said at once that this is a much better piece of work than volumes i and iii (already noticed). Here we have the geographical books (iii-vi), involving long statistical stretches and endless name-lists, redeemed in book vii by that host of curious facts about the human race which Pliny narrates with all the gusto of a writer to *The Times*. Mr. Rack-

ham's presentation of the geographical data is pleasantly varied, and his vigorous and often amusing narrative style makes good reading.

Place-names are troublesome. Where possible, the modern equivalents are given, either in the translation or in footnotes. Inconsistencies occasionally result: thus (iii. 56) we read first of Cerceii, then of Circello, while the Garigliano here is the Liris of 59; in iv. 8-9 *Peloponnesus* is 'the Morea' and 'the Peloponnese' in two consecutive lines; Sunium (iv. 62) was Capo Colonna in iv. 24. Presumably this is deliberate, but it is rather bewildering, especially in a passage such as iii. 100, where *Calliopolis quae nunc est Anxa* becomes



'Gallipoli, the present Anxa'. In iv. 76 the Thracian and the Cimmerian Bosphorus are named respectively the Straits of Constantinople and of Kertsch; but in 77 they have inexplicably turned into 'the Dardanelles and Kaffa'. The translator's inventive turn leads him to such renderings as 'Cornelius Market', 'Elm Wood' (*nemus Pteleon*), 'Bridgetown' (*Zeugma*), 'Timbertown' (*Xylinopolis*); these are jarring, particularly in the company of names that cannot be so treated.

The translation is far more accurate than in the previous volumes, and there are many neat touches. A few passages need revision. In iii. 30 R. reads *iactatum* but apparently translates *iactatae*. Something odd has happened in 109 (*Nar amnis exhaurit illos* [sc. *lacus Velinos*] *sulpureis aquis Tiberim ex his petens*), which is translated 'Those lakes drain into the river Nera, which from these derives the river Tiber with its sulphurous waters': the sense is 'the Nar with its sulphurous waters' (cf. Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 517) drains them, making afterwards for the Tiber'.

In vi. 80 *nam quod aliqui tradidere aureum argenteumque his solum esse haut facile crediderim* means 'I am scarcely inclined to believe the legend that these places are paved with gold and silver' ('that they only have gold and silver mines', R.). In 88 *nullo commercio linguae* should naturally mean that the Chinese 'have no common language' (with the Cingalese): R.'s version 'they use no language in dealing with travellers' certainly agrees with the description of silent barter which follows, but does not seem consistent with Pliny's remark that they are *oris sono truci*. There is a puzzle in 103, *ubi praesidium excubat diverticulo duum milium*—'where a guard is stationed on outpost duty at a caravanserai accommodating 2,000 travellers', R.; this may be right—who knows? But *duum milium* could be taken with *praesidium*; and I should be much tempted to read (with some authority, see Jan-Mayhoff ad loc.) *diverticulo*, 'a garrison-post 2,000 strong keeps guard at a road-junction' (see

Nettleship, *Contr. to Lat. Lex.*, s.v. *diverticulum*). Yet why should there have been such a large garrison (or, for that matter, such a commodious caravanserai) in so remote a corner of Egypt?

In vii. 14 the point is obscured if *adulterino sanguine natos* is taken generally as 'persons with adulterous blood'—Pliny means bastard children of that particular race, whom the snakes do not avoid, because, unlike lawfully begotten children, they have no *virus exitiale serpentibus*; 15, 'left' and 'right' are transposed; 34, the *androgyni* are 'pets' rather than 'entertainments' (*in deliciis habitos*); 58, *neptis suae nepotem* does not mean 'his daughter's grandson'; 125, *exemplis* means 'likenesses' (of Alexander), not 'examples'; 160, the force of *negavit* surely extends to *excedi*, and the numeral is misprinted; 186, *frivolum dictu* ('a pitiful story', R.) can hardly refer to the pathos of the suicide described, but must be taken with *criminantibus* ('the opposing backers put out an allegation that the man had fainted—a silly tale'); in 187 (*longinquis bellis obrutos erui*), why should cremation have arisen because the bodies of those 'fallen in wars abroad were dug up again'?—*longinquis* must mean 'long-distant', and *erui* must have its present significance ('were being dug up').<sup>1</sup>

Misprints are not in the same profusion as in the previous volumes. The most serious are (iii. 3-4) xv, v, vii, x, for xv, etc., (iii. 32) xii for xii; (p. 43) *Severone* for *Teverone*; (v. 150) *cum* for *eum*; (vii. 30) *quo* for *quos*; (vii. 122) *re* for *rei*; (vii. 177) *examinatum* for *exanimatum*—a printer's spoonerism? In vii. 181, Aufestius has turned into Aufidius in translation.

Mr. Rackham again makes contributions to the text; note *Paediculi* (iii. 38, 102); *muro v* (iv. 24); *Apolloniarum* (iv. 92); *Coeles Syriae quae* (v. 77);

<sup>1</sup> I can find no parallel for this meaning of *longinquus*, although it is sometimes found with reference to the future: *N.H.* xiii. 83, quoted by Lewis and Short as bearing the retrospective meaning, is quite wrongly adduced, as a glance at the context shows.

*vitibus consito conditis* (v. 110); *Damea vocata* (v. 127); *situs* for *sinus* (vi. 30); *ab eo* for *ab ea* (vi. 196); *futurae statuæ* (vii. 73). He includes several suggestions by Mr. Warmington, and admits some to the text. It occurs to me that in vii. 55, *nec a Sannio mimo Paride cognominato*, the name Sannius is surely suspicious: perhaps we might read *nec a sannione* [*mimo*] *Paride cognominato*, *mimo* being a gloss which has possibly

usurped the place of the actor's real name (for the *sannio* in the mime, cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* i. 265).

Congratulations to Mr. Rackham on this volume; and the printers and publishers too deserve their share of credit in these hard days.

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### AN ENGLISH COLUMELLA

Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella: *On Agriculture*. With a recension of the text and an English translation by Harrison Boyd ASH. In three volumes. I. *Res Rustica* I-IV. Pp. xxix+461. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann, 1941. Cloth, 10s. (leather, 12s. 6d.) net.

AN English Columella is welcome, and Dr. Ash has done good service to an author of whom in modern times, apart from his verse, Sweden has practically had a monopoly. For Books I and II his text is based on Lundström's edition of 1917, though he differs from Lundström at many places; for III and IV he has collated the two nineteenth-century manuscripts, and two fifteenth-century ones, with the text of Schneider. His apparatus criticus is clear and sufficient, though there are a few oddities of statement. At ii. 9. 7 his note reads '*tanto commodius Ald., Gesn.; tanto inclusit Schn.*'; as *tanto* has apparently no manuscript authority, this seems unconventional. On ii. 10. 35 he says '*inlentescat Ald., Lundström, cum codd. ut videtur*'; true, but what is the authority for *lentescat*, which he prints? Most of his own emendations deserve their place in the text: ii. 2. 6 *quæ res tætricum* (better spelt *tet-*, and better translated 'sour' than 'irritable'), ii. 10. 22 *qui in ipsa matre*, iii. 9. 3 *sescenas*, iii. 11. 7 *sit confractus*, iii. 12. 1 *est aestimatio terræ* (an improvement on Schn.), iv. 20. 1 *statuminis*. His *demersa* for *demissa* at iv. 1. 5 and *harundineti* for *-is* at iv. 32. 3 are unnecessary. At iii. 21. 9, where the editors read *ut quæque maturescere*

*incipiunt tempestive leguntur*, his revival of *virescere* seems dubious on his own showing; his note refers in support to xi. 2. 65-9 'for Columella's method of determining the ripeness of grapes', but in that passage C. explicitly condemns those who think that, when one sees the grapes *virescere*, they should be gathered.

The translation is, on the whole, both faithful and readable. Sometimes paraphrase dims the colour of the Latin: 'is damaged' for *contristatur* (iii. 20. 1), 'the matter at stake has suffered impairment' for *res ipsa decoxit* (i. 8. 14). Sometimes the force of particles is missed: *ne . . . quidem* (ii. 21. 4), *autem* (iii. 6. 3), *verum* (iii. 21. 4), (*si*) *modo* (iv. 1. 5); (*is*) *demum* is not 'in the end', and at iii. 21. 5 *mox* is not 'soon'. Occasionally a word is mistranslated or an idiomatic use ignored: i. 7. 3 *veterem consularem* does not mean, though it implies, 'an old man who had been consul', and i. 1. 14 *singularum librum* is not 'a remarkable book' (as the colophon quoted on p. xiv might have reminded the translator). So i. 1. 18 *frequens operibus intervenierit*, 'frequently attend' (the military use of the adjective will occur to a reader who remembers *Georg.* i. 99); ii. 1. 11 *rarae arbores*, 'few'; iii. 2. 18, 24 *nervi*, 'nerves'; iii. 10. 18 *naturalis malignitas*, 'malignity'. *Frugalitas* in i. 9. 4 is not 'thrift', the sudden intrusion of which may well puzzle the reader, but the noun of *frugi*; for *suspensa mola divisa* (ii. 10. 35) 'broken by a suspended millstone' is no happier a translation than 'with suspended

teeth' would be for Lucr. v. 1069. And there are a few cases of downright misconstruing which gives a sentence the wrong sense or none: so iii. 10. 1 *erroris est causa prima species*, 'the reason for this misapprehension lies in their first-rate appearance'; iii. 12. 4 *in alteram partem propensius*, 'incline more in one direction or the other' (the last three words make nonsense); iii. 21. 8 *est proprietas in surculis ut alii meridiano axe conualescant, alii septentrionem desiderant*, 'it is a peculiarity inherent in young vines that some thrive under a southern sky, while others, etc.' There is a glaring instance at iii. 2. 7: *solae traduntur Amineae excepto caeli statu nimis frigido ubicumque sint, etiam si degenerent, sibi comparatae, . . . praebere*, 'the Aminean varieties alone, wherever they are compared, except where the climate is exceedingly cold, and even if they decline in quality, are said to provide, etc.'; Dr. Ash has failed to see that *sibi comparatae* goes with *degenerent*, and by his punctuation has done his best to keep the reader from seeing it.

#### CLASSICAL AND ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

Clarence W. MENDELL: *Our Seneca*. Pp. iii+285. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Milford), 1941. Cloth, \$3 (18s. 6d. net).

THIS extremely interesting and competent essay is in the first place intended as a contribution to English studies. That Elizabethan drama was influenced strongly by 'our Seneca', as Ascham called him, is well known; and 'it is a familiar assumption that the great English drama is somehow the outgrowth of the Greek'. It is this 'somehow' that Mr. Mendell examines: what was the relation between Seneca and the Greeks? and what exactly did Seneca's drama contribute to the Elizabethan? In order to answer these questions, he first makes a detailed comparison of Seneca's *Oedipus* with the *Oedipus Tyrannus*—a comparison which, naturally, suggests that the two are worlds apart. The author then inquires what had happened to the world—to its political, social, and intellectual life—during the centuries

The notes are helpful, but one sometimes wishes that they had been more critical. On *Amineae* (p. 236) Dr. Ash quotes, without comment, Isidore's derivation *quasi a mineo* (i.e. *minio*), which the reader who does not know the quantity of the *-e* may be in danger of taking seriously; a reference to Macrob. iii. 20. 6 would have been more to the point. Again, on *capreoli* (p. 383) he quotes the simple-minded derivation from *capio* provided by Varro and gives no hint of the real origin of the term, in spite of the fact that *cantherius* has just preceded and *mergus* is to follow.

This is a useful book, and it is to be hoped that the remaining volumes will not be long delayed. It may well turn out to be the first complete modern edition; for Lundström's has made slow progress. Forty years after the appearance of its first fascicle little more than half of it has been published, and now the editor's death leaves its future uncertain.

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that separated Seneca from Sophocles, and shows that the two dramatists in fact were writing in, and for, different worlds, worlds at least as different from each other as modern New York is from Elizabethan London.

Having described the relevant features of Seneca's world, and briefly (perhaps too briefly, for the passage is very good) indicated the very different atmosphere in which Attic drama grew, Mendell proceeds to examine both the style and the content of Seneca's plays, in detail, with constant reference to Seneca's Greek forerunners; and he shows that plays written for such a society and for such a purpose—declamation—could hardly have been other than what they are. The incredible is made to seem not only credible, but even inevitable. For example, the fact that plays could only be written for declamation explains directly the undramatic, 'tone-poem' nature of the prologues, the continual injection of irrelevant horrors and

marvels, the lack of large-scale construction and proper climaxes, the imperfect control of entrances and exits, and many another feature. It is an intelligent and supple piece of criticism, which will interest classical scholars who have no intention of reading either *Gorboduc* or any more Seneca, and it might with advantage be put in the path of younger students of classical literature.

Though he has no illusions about Seneca, Mendell writes about him in an urbane and objective way which one can only admire when one reflects what an experience it must be to read Seneca's plays so intensively. But he is objective by principle, for when he comes to Seneca's influence on the Elizabethans he says, rightly, that Seneca's merits are irrelevant; the only question is, what had he to offer? Here, disclaiming expert knowledge, he points first of all to certain specific contributions that Seneca made—such as the prologue (giving an external motivation and creating an atmosphere of gloom or horror), the use of the supernatural, of the soliloquy, and so on. Then, more generally, he suggests that

the Roman drama taught three things to the Elizabethan. The Chorus of Seneca, artificial though it was, did divide the play into five acts, and in imitating this the Elizabethans were forced to study form and the proper ordering of their material. The rhetoric of Seneca's speeches and the epigrammatic clatter of his dialogue counteracted the native tendency towards slipshod colloquialism; and the sophisticated, cosmopolitan tone of Seneca was a salutary antidote to the undue *naïveté* of the English drama. There is a chapter on Seneca's philosophy, an interesting point in which is Seneca's debt to the traditions of Roman satire.

That the English reader may have an opportunity of comparing Greek and Senecan tragedy for himself, the author appends verse-translations of the *Oedipus* of Seneca and the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The translations are straightforward, readable, and, where I have tested them, accurate.

Mr. Mendell's style makes his book a pleasure to read, and his publishers have co-operated by making it a pleasure to handle. H. D. F. KITTO.

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#### LATIN POETRY OF THE EMPIRE

Dennis and Gladys MARTIN: *Latin Poetry of the Empire*. Selections edited with commentary. Pp. xviii+417; illustrations. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1940. Cloth, \$1.80.

THE editors of this selection from the Latin poetry of the Empire are the Professors of Latin in the South Carolina College for Women and the Mississippi State College for Women respectively, and their work is intended to supply students with a 'text book embracing the poetry of the imperial period' which has been 'largely neglected in the college classroom'. Selections are given from Phaedrus, Seneca (some 500 lines from the *Medea*), Persius (Satire II), Calpurnius Siculus (two eclogues), Lucan (selections from books I, III, IV, V, and IX), Valerius Flaccus (selections from I, III, VII, and VIII), Silius Italicus, Statius (four of the *Silvae* and selections from *Thebais* IV and XI), Martial, Juvenal

(Satires I and III), Nemesianus (one eclogue), Ausonius (about 200 lines from the *Mosella*), Claudian, and the *Peruigilium Veneris* (in full). While no claim is made by the authors to have selected the finest passages of these writers, their claim that the passages selected are 'representative of the range of each author's work' may perhaps be allowed.

The notes are a little puzzling. Sometimes translations are appended which could hardly be required even by a beginner: e.g. '*rebus manifestis*: obvious facts'; at other times they deal with real difficulties and will often be found helpful. But the authors, partly out of an imperfect knowledge of Silver Age idiom and usage, partly out of an apparent failure to use the available editions, often go wrong. It would be impossible to deal with all these instances: the following are a few of them. Lucan i. 155 the note on *in sua templa*, i. 168



that on *ignotis*, and i. 175 that on *coactae* are both inadequate and misleading: these lines are all explained by Housman; Lucan iii. 130 the note '*e nostro sc. aerario*' is quite wrong, and two lines lower *exutae* (explained by Housman) is translated 'defenceless'. Valerius Flaccus i. 280 'the exact meaning is vague': on the contrary it is quite precise: *Inoo linguens Athamanta Learcho* means that Phrixus left Athamas to deal with Learchus more successfully than he had done himself; iii. 277 *toto caelo* is not dative but ablative; iii. 340 *rapuit telis* does not mean 'hurriedly detached from the loom' but 'wove hurriedly'. Statius, *Silvae*, i. 6, 16 *rapi-nis* is not dative but ablative; in l. 20 *praeognates* means not 'luscious' but 'full'. Stat. *Theb.* iv. 763 *numerus sanguinis* does not mean 'a quantity of blood' but 'the due number of beasts slain'; in 766 *cursu animae* is not 'as he struggles for breath' but 'as his breath comes and goes'; in 796 *improbis* is not

'mischievous' but 'too heavy'; in 797 '*illi sc. eunt*' is wrong, the editors being misled by the faulty punctuation of Klotz; in xi. 451 *obliquis ictibus* is not 'glancing blows' but 'blows that went wide of their mark', and the translation of 454 *alternaque murmura uoluunt musantes* transposes subject and object; in xi. 472 the note '*quamquam maesta sc. est*' arises from unfamiliarity with the use of *quamquam* in Statius; in 502, 535, and 541 the translation is inadequate. In Juv. i. 144 *intestata senectus* is still translated 'an intestate old age'; and the difficulties of ll. 156, 157 are glossed over.

The illustrations, though not always relevant to the text, are very charming, and the book, with such reservations as are made above, furnishes an excellent collection of extracts for teachers who may wish to encourage their students by this means to read the authors for themselves.

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#### AN AMERICAN MISCELLANY

*Studies in Honor of Frederick W. Shipley.* Pp. ix+314. St. Louis: Washington University, 1942. Cloth.

DR. SHIPLEY, in whose honour this *Festschrift* is written, is a Canadian who has been for forty years on the staff of Washington University, holding various important posts there. The Chancellor, Dr. George R. Throop, sketches his career, and the contents of the book indicate not only that his colleagues hold him in deserved esteem but that his interests are wider than his own subject, Latin, for two-thirds of the authors write on matters unconnected with the classical tradition or touching on it but lightly, viz., B. Weinberg on 'The poetic theories of Minturno', Sherman Eoff on 'Pereda's realism', B. A. Morrisette on 'Early English and American critics of French Symbolism', H. Dieckmann on 'Bibliographical data on Diderot', W. Roy Mackenzie on 'Rosen-crantz and Guildenstern', D. L. Bryant on 'The contemporary reception of Edmund Burke's speaking', R. F. Jones on 'The moral sense of simplicity',

F. O. Nolte on 'Imitation as an aesthetic norm',<sup>1</sup> and C. E. Cory on 'Immediacy: its nature and value'. Bateman Edwards has chosen a border-line subject, for he finds in the *Roman d'Alexandre* 'an Aesopic tradition which is independent of the usual one', perhaps 'derived from an as yet undiscovered written source' (p. 99). This notice is concerned mainly with the five classical articles.

Professor D. McFayden begins the series with a trenchant criticism of a dogma of Roman historians, namely that every magistrate, and not only a tribune, had the right of veto against his colleagues. Taking especially the case of consuls and praetors, he shows that not a single instance of a real veto can be produced from their history, while several episodes make against it. His arguments call aloud for further examination, and may not be found at all easy to confute.

His classical colleague, Professor E.

<sup>1</sup> This contains not a little of Aristotle and something of Plato.

Tavener, writes on fire in ancient love-magic, devoting much of his space to expounding the Second Idyll of Theokritos. He brings a step nearer that adequate commentary upon it which is shown all the more clearly to be desirable by the feebleness of Lavagnini's attempt (*L'Idillio secondo di Teocrito*, Palermo, 1935), to say nothing of the general commentaries on the poet. His work is not free from flaws, however. It is incorrect to say (p. 20) that Hekate appears to Simaitha; at v. 35, she hears dogs howl and, in desperate fear that the goddess is really coming, has a gong sounded to scare her off. In v. 48 (contrast p. 22) Simaitha pretends that she has some hippomanes and is using it. P. 34, 'on Daphnis' is a mistranslation of *in Daphnide*, Verg., *Ecl.* viii, 83. It is perfectly clear why Amaryllis, *ibid.* 101, casts the ashes into the river; she is getting rid of the remains of one piece of magic before her mistress starts on the next. Hence the confession on p. 35 of lack of understanding is not called for.

Professor T. S. Duncan devotes pp. 39-53 to a good defence of Thucydides against Cornfordian aspersions. The next twenty pages are occupied by

an incomplete study of prehistoric Macedonia (it is styled 'Part I'), in which Professor G. E. Mylonas points out how scanty our present knowledge of the Neolithic period in that region is and issues a warning against premature theories concerning the provenience of the cultures known to have existed. So far as a non-archaeologist can judge, his investigation is sound and careful. Otto Brendel deals (pp. 75-93) with what he calls classical Ariels, meaning the figures which, in sundry works of art, carry deified emperors and other persons to heaven. He suggests that the one on the Grand Camée de France is Polus, dressed in what looks like Persian costume because that is appropriate to a northerner, as he shows by other examples, and Polus is mostly the north celestial pole personified.

This valuable volume is in form an issue (No. 14) of the University's series *Language and Literature*. The general impression is of a vigorous scholarship, not afraid to have ideas of its own, whether or not they happen to agree with the orthodoxies of the day.

H. J. ROSE.

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#### SCHRIJNEN'S COLLECTED PAPERS

*Collectanea Schrijnen*. Verspreide opstellen van Dr. Jos. Schrijnen. Pp. xx+496; 1 plate, 5 maps. Nijmegen and Utrecht: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1939. Paper, fl. 6.

FROM the long list of publications of the late Professor Schrijnen which opens this handsome volume the editors have selected forty-seven papers and republished them here, in order both to pay a tribute to him and to render service to the learned world. Piety and practical sense have guided them in the difficult task of selection. Thus, articles the results of which have not stood the test of time are left out, as are articles of a polemical nature. Those which were collected in Schrijnen's lifetime, or which were embodied in his books (e.g. *Uit het leven der Oude Kerk*, 1919; *Nederlandsche Volkskunde*, 1930-33, and his well-known Introduction to Indo-European Philology) are also omitted.

The inevitable result is that Schrijnen's earlier work is more scantily represented, and that the number of articles in each section is not quite proportionate to the great scholar's actual production. But this will not distress his personal admirers and does, on the other hand, greatly enhance the practical value of the book. The same end is served by the editors' wise decision to translate the majority of the articles written in Dutch into either German (20) or French (3). Six articles are left in Dutch, both because their subject counselled this course and because it was intended to give a sample of the author's style. The other papers were written in French (11) or German (7) by Schrijnen himself.

The editors have arranged the material under six heads: General Philology (3 papers); Indo-European Philology (14); Classical Philology,

Early Christianity, and Early Christian Latin; Folklore (9 each), and Dutch Dialects (3). In the first section the Address to the Congress of Phonetics at Amsterdam, assigning to the new 'Phonematics' of the Prague School its place in science, may be named as representative. The second section is mainly concerned with the grouping and mutual relations of I.-E. languages, and with *praeformantia*, particularly the mobile *s* attached to a number of I.-E. roots, which attracted Schrijnen's attention again and again. The third section contains, besides much miscellaneous matter, Schrijnen's definition of the nature of *Umgangssprache*, and his interesting attempt to apply the principles of Dialect Geography to Ancient Italy. From the fourth section I should like to mention an article showing the third century to have been the period when the Daily Bread of the Lord's Prayer came to be identified with the Eucharist, and the striking, if controversial, thesis expressed in the title of what is perhaps the most im-

portant of the articles published here: 'Le latin chrétien devenu langue commune.' In the fifth section there are, among others, articles setting out the principles of *Volkskunde und religiöse Volkskunde* and of *Synchronistische Volkskunde*, whilst the last section gives interesting specimens of the methods of Dialectology.

It can, I think, be fairly said of Schrijnen that his work impresses not so much by its results as by its methodical nature. His great discipline of mind, expressed in his constant endeavour to define, to classify, and to systematize, has made him a teacher of many who were not actually his pupils. I personally regret that the editors have not added a short biography of the man whose character and power of organization have been so great a force in linguistic science. The striking portrait fronting the title-page may be taken as an eloquent substitute.

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#### ΘΗΙΣΣΑΙΕ ΕΝ ΣΑΝΙΕΙΝ

Ivan M. LINFORTH: *The Arts of Orpheus*. Pp. xviii+370. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (London: Cambridge University Press), 1941. Cloth, \$3.50.

THIS is the most important work on Orpheus and Orphism since the standard treatise of Mr. Guthrie, to which Professor Linforth makes frequent reference, although he is too independent and critical to take that or any other book as an infallible guide. His investigations rest on a careful re-examination of the relevant texts, in hopes that, like Strabo, whose sensible remarks (x. 3. 23) form his motto, he may arrive at a reasonable conjecture concerning the truth. In general it may be said that his negative conclusions deserve at least careful consideration, while many of them seem practically final, and that his positive suggestions are not only ingenious but quite as plausible as anything put forward hitherto.

He divides the evidence into two

groups, making the arbitrary but not unjustifiable date 300 B.C. the dividing line between them. Concerning the earlier testimonies, he alleges rather too optimistically (p. 175) that they tell us 'precisely what the Greeks before 300 B.C. thought they knew about Orpheus and what they called Orphic'. It might be truer to say that they show us how limited and uncertain is our knowledge of those very matters. However, they do allow of certain conclusions which, if tentative, are not likely to be upset as far as they go. There existed a considerable body of poems associated with the name of the legendary Orpheus, the magical musician. Their subject varied considerably, but their chief content was mythological. Their author was credited with several activities, but above all with the formulation of rites, *τελεραί*. It is not said that he founded a cult which could specifically be called Orphism. If there was an Orphic religion, in any sense in which a Greek of classical date could

have understood such a phrase, it was 'the entire religion of teletae and mysteries with their magic ritual' (p. 173).

With this the reviewer is inclined to agree as a minimum conclusion. It does not exclude the possibility that there were, here and there, groups of persons practising an 'Orphic life', who might therefore be styled Orphic conventicles or even congregations. It certainly does not prove or strongly indicate that there were such groups. Indeed, it may perhaps be best reconciled with the supposition that Orphism was an attitude, not a cult, still less of course, at that date, a body of dogma. In somewhat the same manner there has never been a church called Puritan, *simpliciter*, as there are, e.g., Anglican and Presbyterian churches; yet 'Puritan', 'Puritanism' means something in the religious history of Great Britain and the U.S.A.

For the later period the author finds that Orpheus is credited still with the institution of very numerous rites, generally mysteries, but also of a number of other things, from polytheistic doctrine to agriculture. He is also, of course, the alleged author of the curious little hymnal which we have (Professor Linforth is of those who believe, plausibly, that it was in actual use by some thiasos, possibly at Pergamon), and he is quoted in support of some very wire-drawn Neoplatonic speculations, to say nothing of Christian polemics. 'Orphics' seem to be variously considered as the writers of Orphic poetry, the adherents of a kind of philosophic school, and the practitioners of certain rites and taboos. The word 'Orphic' is utterly lacking in precision, for the later era as for the earlier.

Yet the word does mean something, and Professor Linforth sets to work (p. 293) to find out what that meaning is. He suggests that behind Orphism, if we may still call it so, there lie 'two independent cells which united to produce it'. One is the existence of the mystery-cults, with all that the pious of many ages made of them. The other

is simply the legend of Orpheus the wonderful singer and harper, his music and his dolorous death. We know from Plato (*Meno*, 81 A, 10) that there were in his time certain priests and priestesses who made it their business to give some rational account, λόγον δίδόναι, of their own ritual practices. These theologians, so to name them, Professor Linforth supposes to have grasped at the great name of Orpheus and set forth their speculations, cult-legends, or whatever exactly they were, as revelations from him, newly discovered poems of his composition, or anything else which we may suppose to lie behind the convention of making Orpheus speak in their works and proclaim his own authorship. Thus was started a tradition by which certain religious poetry (the author goes too far in saying 'religious poetry of every kind', p. 295) came to be called Orphic, to go under the name of Orpheus, and by some people at some times to be actually credited to a veritable Orpheus who was contemporary with the Argonauts.

Professor Linforth is too good a scholar and too modest a man to imagine that this view is self-evident or free from difficulties. But it is at least intelligible, contradicts no known facts that the reviewer can at present recall, and so is worthy of attention and further criticism, which it is to be hoped it will receive.

Space forbids discussion of the long section (pp. 307 to the end) dealing with the story of the murder and dismemberment of Dionysos by the Titans; one striking point is that no certainly Orphic document uses the name Zagreus in this context. For the same reason it is not practicable to draw attention either to the numerous places in which sound and sober exegesis guides the author away from fanciful renderings of doubtful passages, or to those, about a score in number, in which he seems to have taken the less likely view, or even one wholly erroneous, of his authority's words.

H. J. ROSE.

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## ANTIQVO MORE SACRORVM

Axel W. PERSSON: *The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times*. (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 17.) Pp. 189. Frontispiece, 29 plates and 29 illustrations in text. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (Cambridge: University Press), 1942. Cloth, 12s.

THE prehistory of any country, since it can appeal to no written documents, must be full of obscurities and divergencies of interpretation. This is still more true when the subject is not material things but immaterial. The chance find of a potsherd will indicate that a nation had the art of pottery, and the identification of a few charred grains may show us that it could grow wheat; but I do not know of any unwritten monument which could prove beyond possibility of doubt that men conceived their gods as being immortal, like Iuppiter, or dying and rising again, like Adonis. But where the evidence, if thus doubtful, is abundant, there is room for intelligent speculation, and the present work, the Sather Lectures for 1940-1, represents the meditations of a learned and acute man on the pictures which pre-Hellenic art (chiefly in the form of Cretan seal-rings) has drawn for us of supernatural beings and their relations to their worshippers. It thus forms a pendant to the standard treatise of M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, to which it often refers, sometimes assenting, sometimes disagreeing, though always with courtesy and moderation.

An introductory section explains in three pages why it is legitimate to go, at times, far afield in handling the subject. Hellenic and Aegean culture developed out of a part of a very ancient and widespread way of living which may be called Afrasian; its older features, therefore, may quite possibly find their explanation at a great distance from Athens or Knossos, perhaps in some corner of Mesopotamia or farther away yet. With this justification of the parallels to be used later, the author attacks the legend of Glaukos

son of Minos (with whom he identifies the various other Glaukoi of mythology) and his resuscitation by Polyidos. Now follows a long, elaborate, and often highly ingenious examination of the Cretan signets. The result is that they show us a series of seasonal rites, including the death of an Adonis-like figure, his burial and subsequent resurrection, and his association with a female power, the Great Mother. Here, in parenthesis, I would remark that it is doubtful if Persson has fully realized the difference in the succession of the seasons in northern and southern Europe, a point on which Nilsson justly lays emphasis in his handling of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Winter is the dead season here, not there, and it is the summer fields which lie bare and destitute of crops under that hotter sun. But, granted Persson's general proposition, he develops it most interestingly, finding room for such various phenomena as the Cretan 'bull-fights' (the bull as an embodiment of fertility, p. 93; but I very much doubt if the constellation Taurus or the season of spring was as important as he thinks), the multitude of female divine names which have a claim to Minoan origin (they are but appellatives of one goddess, pp. 126 ff.), and the 'figure-of-eight' shield (a symbol of divine protection, p. 92, used to avert evil). By the way, it is slightly irritating that he persistently calls it a 'figure-eight' shield. Discussions of such matters as these, of survivals of the prehistoric cult, and of resemblances to some of its features in northern European rock-carvings, fill up the rest of the book.

To go thoroughly into the points on which the reviewer disagrees with the author would take too much space. I would call it a definite mistake when, on p. 151, he speaks as if Apollo's solar character and his association with Artemis were other than secondary additions to his original nature, but perhaps I have misunderstood him. I certainly cannot follow him in supposing (p. 90) that the athletic, muscular



men in women's clothes shown in his Plate 13 are eunuchs comparable to the Galli, and would compare rather the Argive Hybristika, Plut. *Moral.* 245 E. His views on the Amazons likewise (as p. 112) seem to me highly doubtful, and 'matriarchy' (p. 123) never existed anywhere, nor has mother-right, which is meant here, a sufficient claim to be primitive or associated with particular religious phenomena.

The English style is on the whole good; the bad grammar of p. 122 ('of the Great Mother, *she* who', etc.) and

the horrible journalese of pp. 118-19 ('all living things . . . did not', meaning 'no living things did') are imitations of native misusers of our tongue, not foreigner's blunders. But a number of single words are used in strange senses, and the following might mislead: 'spike' several times to signify *spica*; 'climactic' for 'culminating', pp. 96 and 158; while on p. 146, last line, the author for a moment drops into his own language and says 'amma' where we should say 'nurse'. H. J. ROSE.

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### NHΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ

George Emmanuel MYLONAS: *The Hymn to Demeter and Her Sanctuary at Eleusis*. Pp. xii+99; 2 folding maps, 3 figures in text. (Washington University Studies—New Series: Language and Literature, No. 13.) St. Louis: Washington University, 1942. Paper, \$1.

PROFESSOR MYLONAS' theory, which he makes no claim to have originated but only to support with the latest archaeological evidence from the site of the Eleusinian precinct, is briefly this. The author of the 'Homeric' Hymn to Demeter, whoever he was and whenever he wrote, had somehow a good idea of how the goddess's shrine was arranged in very distant ages, the late Mycenaean times, as we call them now, when according to traditional chronology the divine visitor came to the king and nobles of Eleusis and showed them her rites. Mylonas (p. 29) would seem to hold that the poet deliberately archaized, which the reviewer cannot believe; but this suggestion is not essential to the hypothesis. Demeter bade them, says 'Homer' (270-4), make her a 'great temple with an altar beneath it, below the city and its steep wall, above Kallichoron, upon a jutting hill'. It has been widely held, notably by Noack, that, wherever exactly this temple was, it was not on the site of the Telesterion, which was never a temple. Mylonas argues forcibly for the opposite view. The Telesterion was Demeter's temple, the only one in the whole precinct of earlier than Roman

date, except the Plutonion. Its site is on ground so sloping as to be highly inconvenient for the architects and builders, who must therefore have chosen it because it was sacred and no other would be ritually possible. Its shape is due to the necessity of finding room for the many initiands of archaic and classical times; under it, just above the native rock, lie the foundations of a Mycenaean megaron, too small for a rich man's house (it is but 9.50 × 5.70 metres), which was the primitive shrine. Kallichoron, in classical times outside the precinct wall, on the spot where Mylonas would place the 'Homeric' Parthenion, was originally the filled-in well which abuts on the east wall of the Telesterion. Above is the little acropolis, now definitely proved to have been inhabited in Mycenaean times, and not far away, on the rock-cut terrace about half-way to the Plutonion, Mylonas would find the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα.

Passing over trifles—one or two slight misprints, a couple of phrases which are rather odd English, a mention of the 'doctrine' of Eleusis on p. 94 and an apparent transference thither of the παγὰ λαλέονσα (ibid.)—the reviewer has but two doubts to express. First, is it sound to assume that 'Homer' had accurate knowledge of a shrine which must, on any dating of it and the Hymn, have been some centuries old and belonging to a past civilization? Did a Greek shrine conserve anything like the archaeological knowledge which the

verger of a modern cathedral has at his disposal? That originally the worship was probably not of Demeter, but of the nameless 'god' and 'goddess' of whom we catch glimpses in the classical records, is a small point; Demeter would no doubt blend their traditions with her own. Secondly, does this little

megaron answer the Hymn's specification of a 'great' temple—though it might be answered that it is quite large compared to a little chapel like those in Crete—? But the main battle will probably be fought out by the heavy tanks of archaeology.

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### THE CULT OF DIONYSOS IN ROME

Karl LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN and Erling C. OLSEN: *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*. Pp. 82; frontispiece and 44 figures. Published jointly by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery. Baltimore, 1942. Paper, \$1.50.

THE unique interest of this group of nine Roman sarcophagi (seven in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore and two in Rome), here magnificently published as a group for the first time, lies in the circumstances of their discovery. They were found all together in Rome in 1885 near the Porta Pia in two underground chambers, which formed part of the private cemetery of the ancient, noble, and wealthy Roman family of the Calpurnii Pisones. As the study of their relief-style has shown, these sarcophagi form a coherent chronological series covering the period A.D. c. 140 to c. 210. They also display a remarkable homogeneity of subject-matter, both in the myths and in the religious symbols portrayed; and the authors have no difficulty in proving that the family adhered, for at least seventy years, to the Mystery cult of Dionysos-Sabazios. These facts are of great historical significance. Here is an aristocratic Roman family, deeply devoted to the Dionysiac religion, soaked in the liturgy, traditions, and mythology of this Greek cult, and honouring its god in works of art which rank among the finest achievements of mid-imperial relief-sculpture. Thus we now have two important monuments, the famous Neopythagorean basilica of the Porta Maggiore, which we may safely ascribe

to the Statilii Tauri, in the first century, and the cemetery of the Calpurnii Pisones in the second, to prove that the Mystery cults had entrenched themselves in the upper strata of Roman society by the first half of the second century. It was, as is well known, precisely at this time that the rapid and widespread transition from cremation to burial in Rome and Italy, to which the sarcophagi bear witness, took place. Burial was obviously more in harmony than was cremation with the doctrines of the Mysteries, with their emphasis on individual destiny and on the personal rebirth of the soul. But it was also a more elaborate and expensive method of disposing of the dead; and the case of the Calpurnii Pisones contributes to the suggestion that the change occurred just then because enough wealthy and influential families who could afford to make it had joined the Mysteries and were able to give the sarcophagus industry its initial stimulus.

The great importance of the Baltimore and associated sarcophagi for the history both of imperial relief-style and of the evolution of religious thought from Hadrian to Septimius Severus can only be appreciated by a careful perusal of this admirable monograph. They are masterpieces by great and original artists, besides being unrivalled documents for the study of pagan eschatological ideas. We have noted a few slips, and some minor points which we should like to question; but space does not permit us to list them here.

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## ATTIC RED-FIGURE VASES

*Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, by J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. xii+1186. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942. Cloth, 63s. net.

It is thirty-two years since Professor Beazley published the article 'Kleophrades' with which he began his systematic mapping of Attic red-figure vase-painting, and here we have something like a final map. Additions of detail can be made, and further exploration may modify some features, but Beazley has circumnavigated his continent and crossed and recrossed it in most directions, and that the map is essentially accurate no one can doubt.

Much work had of course been done on Attic red-figure before Beazley approached it, and some had partially anticipated his methods, but there was a tendency to agglomerate all good works round the few common signatures—Epiktetos, Pamphaios, Euphronios, Douris, Brygos, Hieron—*ἐποίησεν* or *ἔγραψε*, it did not matter—and therewith a tendency to seek out resemblances and ignore differences. Beazley started with the clear recognition of the enormous number of painters, most, including many of the best, nameless, and with a Morellian insistence on the importance of individual renderings of detail—ears, ankles, etc. He began, significantly, by isolating three personalities, hitherto unrecognized because unnamed, who are perhaps the greatest of all late archaic vase-painters: the Kleophrades, Berlin, and Pan Painters; and with the articles on these came others on lesser but not less individual artists.

In 1918 he published *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, combining and amplifying these articles into a coherent history of red-figure vase-painting to the end of the fifth century; and in 1924 the first edition of the present work, in German, consisting in lists, arranged in groups as far as possible chronologically, of the works of all the artists whose hand or manner he recognized in more than a vase or two. Since then he has pub-

lished articles and several major works on red-figure vase-painting besides working on black-figure and white-ground and also on plastic head-vases, and much of the difference between the two editions of this book has already appeared. Some, however, is entirely new, including most of the fourth-century sections, and it is of great value to have it all collected in this form. The new edition lists more than 15,000 vases, against the 10,000 or so of the first; there are some alterations in the order; sections on early fourth-century painters have been added and on the painters of white lekythoi; and there is more about contemporary black-figure, besides a list of head-vases, classified according to the style of their plastic parts, and lists of fragmentary signatures and of love-names; also an index of proveniences and one of mythological subjects, the latter contributed by Jacobsthal. Aesthetic judgements, always rare, are now almost all cut out; only the Kleophrades Painter, Beazley's first love, is characterized as 'the greatest pot-painter of the late archaic period', and the Pan Painter's distinction from and superiority to the mannerist herd is stressed—and I suppose the Worst Painter bears a judgement in his name.

The most striking alterations are the transfer, on Miss Richter's suggestion, of some pieces painted in the workshop of Euthymides from his own hand to that of his pupil the young Kleophrades Painter; and, more important, the detachment from the œuvre of the young Panaitios Painter of an Eleusis Painter, called after the beautiful white-ground fragments found there, and a Proto-Panaitian Group which contains much that we have always thought of as typically Panaitian—the running boy and hare in London, for instance. On the other hand, Beazley now envisages the possibility that Furtwängler is right in regarding the Panaitios Painter as an early phase of Onesimos, now relieved of his brackets by the researches of Plaoutine. The

Syleus Painter has been increased at his beginnings by the vases previously grouped under the name of the Würzburg Athena Painter. His dependence on the Diogenes Painter is also noted, and I personally should like to think that these two sound and sometimes noble painters were one.

Friends of the Bowdoin Painter will be sorry to learn that he has lost his name-piece, the Bowdoin box, to the Heraion Painter, but in Bowdoin, as almost everywhere, he has a lekythos or two, so he is allowed to keep his name. This kind of accident has happened before; the See-saw Painter lost his see-saw (which has now been picked up by the Leningrad Painter) and became the Pig Painter, and the Sleep and Death Painter became the Nikosthenes Painter, though Beazley now wonders again if he did not paint the Sleep and Death cup after all, in a moment of youthful inspiration. It is interesting news that Diepolder has now come round to the view that the Pistoxenos and Penthesilea Painters are two. Several notable pieces omitted from the first edition appear here: the white-ground calyx-krater in the Vatican is shown as a link between the Eupolis and Clio Painters; and the wonderful bell-krater in New York with the return of Persephone becomes

the name-piece of a Persephone Painter 'akin to the Achilles Painter in the character of his style'. On the other hand, the peculiar fragment in the same collection with Immortality shunning Tydeus is still omitted, and the Brachas vase in the Victoria and Albert Museum, attributed by H. R. W. Smith to the Menon Painter, is listed by Beazley only for the love-name with the comment: 'recalls the Chelis Group?'

But, leaving details, look at the book as a whole and compare the picture it gives of a school of painting with the picture of that school before the publication of 'Cleophrades'. The difference is astonishing, and most astonishing the degree to which it is the work of one man. The author is scrupulous in his acknowledgements to archaeologists dead and living, but the contribution of others to the work remains strikingly slight. And since Beazley knows so much more about the subject than anyone else is ever likely to, one hopes that he will one day give us a history of Attic red-figure—an amplification and reconsideration of the thread that runs through *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, as this volume is of his former lists, and the three splendid monographs in *Bilder griechischer Vasen* are of his early articles.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

#### STUDIES OF THE ROMAN EAST

##### *Dumbarton Oaks Inaugural Lectures.*

November 2nd and 3rd, 1940. By HENRI FOCILLON, Michael Ivanovich ROSTOVITZEFF, Charles Rufus MOREY, Wilhelm KOEHLER. (Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 1.) Pp. ii+88; 28 illustrations in the text. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Milford), 1941. Cloth and boards, \$5 (28s. net).

DUMBARTON OAKS is an institution for the study of Byzantine culture, associated with Harvard University. This handsome volume of lectures is its first publication, and very welcome.

M. Focillon compares the 'sous-sol' of Byzantine art with that of prehistoric Europe, in respect of such common elements as geometric constructions,

spiral ornament, 'heraldic' composition, and the 'celtic' motives common to megalithic and to Breton folk-arts. Another example is the employment of 'solar symbols', such as wheel and swastika; the 'animal style' in decorative art and the flamboyance of La Tène and French Gothic are others. Such terms as 'renaissance' and 'resonance' do not go far to explain phenomena whose distribution in order of time is as extensive as the resemblances in remote regions, so dear to 'diffusionists' in ethnology. M. Focillon is content to state the facts and leave explanation to others.

Professor Rostovtzeff gives a vivid summary of the various interactions between Hellenism and the regional



cultures of the Near East, distinguishing the course of events in Asia Minor, where the new Christian culture emerged not from the hellenized cities but from the villages where old Asianic cults and mode of life had persisted, though the language became mainly Greek; in Egypt, where Hellenism remained official, exotic, and 'oppressive and hateful to the majority of the natives', who retained their old cults and were dominated by their priesthoods; and in Syria, the whole group of regions between the Taurus, the Isthmus, and the Persian Gulf, where the sanctuary-cities and caravan-cities remained the permanent centres of culture, and Hellenism became 'a new storey added to the ancient ziggurat of Oriental life'. Dura-Europos is of course the type-specimen, whereas in Palmyra and Petra the caravan trade remained inevitably in Oriental hands, while Jerusalem shows the fanatical resistance of the Oriental culture to Seleucid and Roman interference. Eventually, however, in Gerasa, Dura, and Palmyra, there was real fusion in a culture neither Greek nor Oriental, like that of its neighbour Parthia. It regarded it-

self as heir to the Seleucids, but the equal of the Graeco-Roman world; it was capable of the momentary bid for world-empire which is the tragedy of Palmyra; and when Roman unity was re-established by Diocletian and his successors, this Syrian culture was left outside. Byzantine attempts to hellenize and assimilate it failed: the crucial evidence is the Monophysite heresy, with which Rostovtzeff compares the parallel course of events in Coptic Egypt; and the outcome was the 'spectacular successes' of Sassanian Persia, and of the Saracens, whose culture was essentially what had originated under these unique conditions. And, as Rostovtzeff concludes, 'the antinomy of East and West . . . is still alive to-day'.

Dr. Morey's account of the *Early Christian Ivories of the Eastern Empire* and Dr. Koehler's illustrations of the influence of *Byzantine Art in the West* fall rather beyond the scope of the *Classical Review*, but they are worthy partners in this tetralogy and are generously illustrated.

JOHN L. MYRES.

Oxford.

#### THE LEGACY OF EGYPT

*The Legacy of Egypt.* Edited by S. R. K. GLANVILLE. Pp. xx+424; 34 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942. Cloth, 10s. net.

IT is a drawback to all series that the components are of unequal interest and value. The real 'legacy' of Egypt has been disguised by fantastic claims, from Greek times onward; and much of this book is inevitably devoted to disentangling facts from guesses. In Hocart's sympathetic epilogue (pp. 369-94), after all such legacies have been discharged, the residuary estate for the real heirs of Egypt is immemorial accommodation of land and people in exceptional self-sufficiency, on a few simple but fundamental principles or beliefs. In contrast—to pursue the metaphor—so much of Egypt's wealth was in precarious annuities that little remains but what is entailed. As the centuries pass, however, the debt to

Egyptian culture has grown; Islam benefited more than Christianity, Rome more than Greece, Israel far more than more easterly neighbours. And while Egypt, for most of us, stands for monumental grandeur and superb craftsmanship, its influence has been more profound in the 'place of thought'—in doctrines of immortality and resurrection, fundamental notions of conscience and of justice as its social expression. The magistrate whose verdict on the evidence left the litigants free to agree among themselves, transcended praetor and dicast, as the self-examination presupposed in *The Book of the Dead* made confession-priesthood needless.

Not all these fundamentals emerge very clearly out of this collection of essays. It is only by degrees that the social or political structure of Egypt is revealed, though much of it is in the



Pyramid texts and early moralists, and much of it, as Hocart shows, survives. There is no chapter on Egyptian religion, and the 'contribution to Christianity' has leaf and flower, but no explicit root in Egyptian modes of thought. Conversely it is not easy to pick out, among Egyptian crafts and techniques, those which craftsmen elsewhere did not invent but acquired from Egypt and perpetuated. Egyptology indeed is still in that immature phase where splendid toys are displayed, but no one quite knows the rules of the game. Petrie used to say that an anthropologist should begin with the study of Egypt; there is a sense in which Egyptologists of all sorts would be the better for a grounding in the science of man. The Greeks saw in Egyptian art the triumph of rhythm, and rationalized Egyptian craftsmanship even while they outgrew it into a higher order of composition. What was it, that is so perfectly *right* in Egyptian masterpieces, and what, that is for some of us at least, *all wrong*? Capart's connoisseurship and charming illustrations simply do not help us here. 'A lotus on a vessel's rim a simple lotus was for him, and it was nothing more.'

If the distinguished specialists who contribute the first half of the book fail as legacy-hunters through their absorption in egyptological problems, and the really embarrassing wealth of material evidence, the writers on historical and philosophical subjects somehow fail, as has been hinted already, to demonstrate egyptologically the source of the legacies they acknowledge. Was it accident, or inevitable, that Christianity in Egypt became gnostic, monophysite, monastic? What, for example, is the relation of Palestinian monasticism to Egyptian? Was it chance that hellenized Judaism in Philo, whereas in Syria it is antagonistic to Hellenism? How did Islam, alone of the world religions, live 'in the world but not of it' among the fleshpots of Egypt, exploiting (for example) inherent rhythm in the traditional art, while abjuring its naturalism? Even the 'arabesque' itself is found earlier at Samarra (p. 362)

than in the mosque of Ibn Tulun, who came thence (p. 364). 'It is conjectured, though it cannot with certainty be proved' (p. 351), that Moslem asceticism was influenced by Christian; but is Christian monasticism Egyptian, or a revolt from Nilotic Egypt? And it is admitted (p. 353) that the beautiful verses of al-Bûṣîrî 'could have equally well introduced a typical ode of pre-Islamic days'. Not all mysticism is Egyptian; and it is the lack of anything mystical in indigenous Egypt that has set the learned, from Herodotus onward, on the quest for Egyptian mysteries. It is still not very clear what 'has come out of the "blood and soil" of the country' and what is the appanage of almost any powerful and wealthy court-life.

It is unfortunate that three contributors passed away before this book was finished, and that others have been out of reach. The latest authority quoted in the chapter on chronology is dated 1931; a good deal has been done since then to test the foundations of Eduard Meyer's hypothesis; no account is taken of Sidney Smith's *Alalakh and Chronology*, a profound revision of the dates between 2000 and 1500 B.C.; and the last paragraphs admittedly 'enter a somewhat conjectural realm' bordering on Atlantis and the Mayas. There is also some overlap between 'Writing and Literature' and 'Egypt and Israel' and between 'Chronology' and 'Science' which costs valuable space. Some chapters, replete with detailed information, are unfurnished with books of reference. Between 'Science' and 'Medicine', on the other hand, there is unconformity. In the account of 'Medicine' it is not made clear how, as in Greece, observation and magical practices went on independently. In the Edwin Smith papyrus, the chance confusion of two treatises by the copyist was noted by the editor; and the Chester Beatty papyrus B.M. 10686 is similarly composite. The practitioner's option to 'throw up the case' as incurable is the negation of magical bombast.

The account of legal system and procedures in Egypt is of exceptional

interest, because here we have by far the most coherent account of the early working of Roman 'provincial law' based on native usage, but accommodated to Roman procedure by *cognitio*, and competent to achieve creative

experiments which the classical Roman law did not attempt. Here indeed is a 'legacy of Egypt' of a significant and rather unexpected kind.

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### THE ECONOMICS OF ANCIENT GREECE

H. MICHELL: *The Economics of Ancient Greece*. Pp. xi+415. Cambridge: University Press, 1940. Cloth, 18s. net.

PROFESSOR MICHELL has chosen a comprehensive title for his book, but his subject is less comprehensive than his title. His primary interest is in descriptive economics. His aim is to paint a picture of the ancient Greek going about his daily business of getting and spending, to portray him against a background of agriculture and mining, manufacture and trade, labour problems, money, banking, and public finance. The author's interest in the economic aspects of historical events or processes is subsidiary. He deals only summarily and in passing with the formal economic thought of the 'deeper thinkers', and hardly at all with the economic thought that may be presumed to have underlain the economic decisions of those possibly less deep thinkers, the politicians. He is not concerned with an analysis of the broad sweep of Greek history in economic terms, on the lines of a Sombart or a Schumpeter.

The justification for another descriptive study, when we have the works of Glotz and Toutain, is that recent archaeological discoveries, monographs, and periodical literature have given us new perspectives. The time is indeed ripe for a summary in English of the recent work, and Professor Michell earns our gratitude for undertaking the task. We could wish that the Greeks had left us the evidence, and that Professor Michell had the theoretical equipment, for a dynamic analysis of Greek economic history. As it is, this study in near-still-life, in spite of its shortcomings, is the best compendium of its kind in English; but its shortcomings are not unimportant.

Professor Michell, though generally

a clear and admirable expositor, sometimes assumes too much knowledge of his reader: e.g. 'owls' (p. 95) and 'Gresham's Law' (p. 329) need explanation; and he is not always accurate in translation. Several of his interpretations of *loci* would not meet with universal acceptance (p. 73, n. 2: *ὀρεὺς* puzzles him. Has he never ridden a mule in the Rockies?). He foresees, but does not always avoid, the danger of generalizing from single references (e.g. p. 72, n. 1, Homer, *Od.* xiv. 80 on the sucking pig). There is the inevitable dullness of long catalogues of wares. There are shortcomings of architecture: e.g. it would have been more appropriate to discuss population problems under the supply of labour and the size of markets for goods, rather than in the unsatisfactory initial hotchpotch labelled 'background'. There is some lack of balance: we might have had more on fishing, an important primary industry, or on the wine, olive-oil, and foodstuffs industries; the sections on the Greeks and Phoenicians and on piracy are not very much to the point. Notwithstanding the dust-cover's claim that use has been made of all the main results of modern research there are gaps: e.g. the section on wages and profits is superficial and neglects much modern epigraphy; that on gilds makes no mention of Poland or Radin. Nor is he above using poor authorities, e.g. Holland Rose on the Mediterranean.

The chief shortcoming of the work is that Professor Michell does not approach his task with sufficient time-sense or with sufficient appreciation of the theoretical implications of his interpretations. It is some years since Heckscher was appealing for more theory in economic history; his was a plea that might well have the ear of those who write about ancient Greece.

Professor Michell may not claim to write economic history, but his sources range from Homer to Plutarch (see the sources on p. 137), and they need a historian to see them in proportion, as well as an economic theorist to interpret them in economic terms.

Professor Michell is excellent in description, e.g. in the sections on technology, which are full and sound; but he is less satisfactory in sections which call for some theoretical appraisal, e.g. the remuneration of labour and the economic importance of slaves. The chapter on money and banking is too much concerned with descriptions of standards and not enough with their economic and political repercussions. He does not explain and reconcile his statements (pp. 320 and 329) that Athenian coinage was fine and universally accepted, and the coins of other states were debased and had limited circulation, but Gresham's Law (that the 'bad' metal tends to drive the 'good' out of circulation) functioned as inexorably in ancient times as it ever did in subsequent ages. He is dogmatic in saying (p. 312) that there can never have been any ratio between electrum and the precious metals, gold and silver; the problem is unsolved, but there is a good case to be made for the view of Brandis and Mommsen that there was such a ratio, at least in the sixth century. He is not very sure of his ground when discussing coins as bullion, and his resolution of the crux in Xenophon, *Revenues*, iv. 10, is unconvincing; it is not very illuminating of Xenophon if all that he means is that when the quantity of gold in circulation goes up not only does gold become cheaper in terms of silver but silver becomes more expensive in terms of gold.

The concluding chapter on public finance, like much of what has preceded it, looks at Greece through the eyes of Athens. Here, too, there is much sound and useful material, as is to be expected from one writing with an eye on Boeckh and Andreades, but there are points that challenge debate. Michell, after Andreades, contends that

the system of finance of the Athenian State was essentially unsound. That may be, but the reasons adduced for this view do not carry conviction. He refers to the two main bases of Athenian finance, the tribute and the heavy taxation of the rich, and to the great illusion of the Greeks that war paid (pp. 352-3). He later admits (p. 390) that in return for tribute the Athenian overlords gave services which were worth the money; but it is not unsound economics to give value for money, provided that you do not give too much value for money. It may be bad salesmanship not to convince your customers that they are getting good value, but as between Athens and her allies that would have been a question of bad political propaganda, not of unsound economics, provided that Athens was giving good value, which was doubtful. On his second point he says (p. 392) that indirect taxes bore heavily on the poor and direct taxes bore heavily on the rich. The inference to be drawn is that revenue from taxation approached the maximum. It is possible, however, that there was an untapped source of revenue in those citizens who were neither rich nor poor, but the evidence is scanty. As for his third point, war may pay, just as piracy may pay, but not the wars that consume capital sunk in slow-maturing olives or vines, or that draw on timber resources with no thought of afforestation. The unsoundness of the financial system is surely to be sought by looking not merely at the income side of the account but at the expenditure side also. There we shall see expenditure which for cultural or social reasons may have been admirable, expenditure on temples, theatres, pensions, but which was unjustifiable financially in relation to the revenue of the State or in the absence of effective machinery, such as long-term loans, for spreading capital expenditure from which generations were to benefit. The taxable wealth of the State was too small to carry the cost of the social services expected of it by a legislature made up of individuals most of whom were not absolutely heavy taxpayers.

All this is not to suggest that Professor Michell's points are unsound, but rather that they will not satisfy every inquisitive reader. The Greek states were poor by nature, and they lacked the vast capital resources, broad vision, combined effort, and lasting peace necessary to make the most of what little wealth was potentially there.

This notice has been devoted in the main to shortcomings, but the book has many positive merits. Within his lights Professor Michell has given us good

value. He has a simple, lively style, and there is an honest and sober competence about the work. It is well filled with amply documented facts. It will give an objective and not unduly misleading picture to the general reader, and it will be a useful and readable text-book. It does not fill the gap in Greek economic history, nor could it on the evidence available, but the gap is smaller than it was.

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### THE GREEK POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

*The Greek Political Experience.* Studies in Honor of William Kelly Prentice. Pp. x+252; 1 photograph, 3 maps. Princeton: Princeton University Press (London: Milford), 1941. Cloth, \$3.00 (18s. 6d. net).

THIS volume in honour of a well-known scholar, to mark his seventieth birthday, has been planned not as a series of separate studies but about a single theme: each author plays his part in the whole. The titles of the fourteen essays will make the theme and the scope of the book clear: 1, *The People and the Value of Their Experience* (N. T. Pratt, Jr.); 2, *From Kingship to Democracy* (J. P. Harland); 3, *Democracy at Athens* (G. M. Harper, Jr.); 4, *Athens and the Delian League* (B. D. Meritt); 5, *Socialism at Sparta* (P. R. Coleman-Norton); 6, *Tyranny* (M. Maclaren, Jr.); 7, *Federal Unions* (C. A. Robinson, Jr.); 8, *Alexander and the World-State* (O. W. Reinmuth); 9, *The Antigonids* (J. V. A. Fine); 10, *Ptolemaic Egypt: A Planned Economy* (S. L. Wallace); 11, *The Seleucids: The Theory of Monarchy* (G. Downey); 12, *The Political Status of the Independent Cities of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic Period* (D. Magie); 13, *The Ideal States of Plato and Aristotle* (W. J. Oates); and 14, *Epilogue* (A. C. Johnson). There follow a useful bibliography for each essay, and a full index.

The book is planned for the general public rather than for scholars (elementary facts are given, for example an

outline of the lives of Plato and Aristotle in c. 13; and there is no Greek, the few Greek words introduced being printed in our characters); and the political lessons which are there for us to draw from the Greek experience are frequently explained. There is one exception to this, Mr. Magie's chapter on the old Greek cities of Asia Minor, which is narrower in scope and more learned in treatment than the rest—a good discussion of the problem.

In such a book it is interesting to observe what great part is given to the Macedonian period of Greek history: omitting the opening and closing chapters, it takes six of the twelve. This emphasis derives not only from a conviction of the importance of this period (which no one would deny), but from its moral value: the Macedonian world-state, and even, apparently, the Macedonian kingdoms are worth more than the old Greek system. For Mr. Reinmuth, Alexander originated not only the world-state, but the conception of the brotherhood of man; for Mr. Fine, even Philip V was a noble defender of the Greek world against the western aggressor, frustrated only by the narrow selfishness of the Greeks themselves. I do not myself share this view. That the world-state was one of the most fruitful of all Greek political ideas is true; but to me the brotherhood of man seems to have meant for Alexander universal subjection to himself as absolute monarch, the equality of Persians and Macedonians and Greeks a degrada-



tion of the latter rather than a generous elevation of the former, and Alexander a true successor to Darius. I may be wrong in this; but it is a legitimate criticism of these essays that they do not make clear that this was the main source of both Greek and Macedonian opposition to Alexander. They may have resented (they were but human) his generous treatment of noble Persians; but what, in their different ways, they hated most was not that he treated the Persians as their *hegemon*, caring for them as friends and kinsmen (to borrow the phrase attributed to Aristotle), but that he treated themselves (and the Persians with them) as their despot. The equality of man is a noble ideal; but it makes some difference whether all men except one are equal as subjects, or all are equal as free citizens.

Similarly in his chapter on federal unions Mr. Robinson, though he remarks that the primary assembly of the Aetolian League 'did not meet often enough to provide that intensity of life which was the very pulse of the city-state', does not make clear that this was the essence of normal Greek opposition to federation, as to military leagues dominated by one member: by joining a federal union Athenians would be surrendering what they valued most in politics just as much as Mytilene or Naxos did in the Delian League. Mr. Robinson says that the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues were 'the best answer which the Greek world ever found to the problem of government'. What exactly is his concept of value? Is the extent of the boundaries within which wars do not take place the only test? This is not an irrelevant question in a review of this book; for, as I said above, the lesson for us is always kept in view. One would have thought that the standard of human activity, intellectual and practical, reached under the various systems of government was not a negligible factor. Nor do I understand why the Athenian attempt at unity in Greece ('Athenian imperialism was a parasitic growth which destroyed itself', says Mr. Johnson) is so sum-

marily dismissed.<sup>1</sup> The readiness to accept and defend the absolute rule of a monarch, provided there is good will in the ruler, which is discernable in many of the writers in this book, gives one much food for thought.

Bearing in mind the public for which this book is intended, it is worth while to point out some statements which, to say the least, need some qualification or explanation. 'A demagogue such as Hyperbolus', says Mr. Harper in a good paragraph on popular leaders who did not hold office, 'might as a private citizen with impunity urge the Assembly to vote reckless military adventures overseas, knowing that the penalty for possible failure would fall upon the heads of the generals appointed to command.' True; but Alcibiades, *as general*, also urged reckless military adventures, and Hyperbolus did not escape a penalty. 'The grant of autonomy by the Persian king in the peace of Antalcidas was freedom by sufferance; what the king had given, he might, if he pleased, wrest from them' (Mr. Reinmuth). 'The ideal ruler of Greek thinkers was one who was endowed by nature with virtues and political capacities superior to those of his fellow men. If a person appeared who was so equipped, he ought to be a ruler; and it was axiomatic in Greek political theory that such a man of genius was above the law' (Mr. Downey). Of 'the three most democratic measures of Solon', the first two are left by Mr. Harland unexplained to the ordinary reader; and the same criticism applies to the territorial basis of Cleisthenes' demes and to the institution of the *boulê* of 400 by Solon and that of 500 by Cleisthenes (its true functions are ignored by both Mr. Harland and Mr. Harper). I find it difficult to appreciate the argument: 'to those who prefer the tempered democracy of Solon to the less restrained democracy of the fifth century Aristotle's statement that middle-class government is the best *practicable* seems confirmed by history'

<sup>1</sup> Not, it should be explained, in Mr. Meritt's essay.



(my italics), seeing that Solon's constitution never worked. Mr. Harland also accepts the constitution of Draco, without pointing out the difficulties. In the context (an account of the

deification of Alexander) it is a serious error to say that Lysander had been recognized as a god in his own city.

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#### IN HONOUR OF W. S. FERGUSON

*Athenian Studies presented to William Scott Ferguson.* (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Supplementary Volume I.) Pp. 535; 11 plates, 2 figures. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Milford), 1940. Cloth, \$4 (22s. 6d. net).

PROFESSOR FERGUSON is perhaps the most distinguished living historian of ancient Greece. In his honour his former students planned a volume concerned with the history and institutions of Athens, this being his chosen field, and invited a number of scholars to send essays related to that subject.<sup>1</sup> The result is a volume to which it was in every respect a compliment to be asked to contribute. It is only because of the special circumstances of this time that, though a contributor, I am reviewing it here.

The book is indeed so rich in material that perhaps only Professor Ferguson himself could give it an adequate notice. There are two 'archaeological' essays, an all-too-brief one by C. W. Blegen on the probable racial origins of the Greeks, and of the inhabitants of Attica in particular (as to which I will only repeat, though not in criticism of his conclusions, the warning that 'non-Greek' and 'pre-Greek' are not necessarily the same); and a second by G. E. Mylonas, on 'Athens and Minoan Crete', in which he argues from both the archaeological and the literary evidence that there is no case for the view that Crete ever subjugated Attica. I agree with the purely negative conclusion, but not with the basis of the discussion: we have abundant evidence for the cultural affinities of all parts of Greece throughout the Bronze Age, practically none for a political history in Mylonas' sense—the value of detailed

statements in Plutarch's *Theseus* or Apollodorus or Pausanias is not assessable; nor is such political history of value compared with the cultural history. There follows an article by G. Daux, 'Athènes et Delphes' (with a valuable appendix listing all the relevant inscriptions found at Delphi), which shows a very wise appreciation of historical problems. I note but one point: Daux says that Pythian Apollo never enjoyed real popularity with the Athenian masses, his cult, formalist and rationalist, being almost confined to the few; but what of the potters, who, as much as the poets of Athens, 'portent au loin la gloire d'Apollon Pythien'? M. F. McGregor has a sensible article, 'The Pro-Persian Party at Athens', W. Peek an exhaustive one, 'Die Kämpfe am Eurymedon', in which he satisfactorily demolishes Uxkull's theory of Plutarch's sources and of the course of the battle, and also argues against Wade-Gery's treatment of the epigrams; I do not find so convincing his support of Eduard Meyer's view that Kallisthenes was Plutarch's source. He adds another attempt to restore the Samian epigram on Maiandrios. An attractive and provocative essay is that of H. T. Wade-Gery, 'The Peace of Kallias': by ingenious combinations he makes probable a renewal in 424–423 of the treaty of 449 with Darius II, the record of which may have been in Ionic characters (Theopompus' 'forged treaty with Darius'); and from Isocrates (iv. 120) and Herodotus (vi. 42. 2) he argues that the treaty included a clause fixing the tribute paid by the cities of the Asia Minor coast to Persia. I am not convinced by this second part, nor by his general estimate of the treaty; but I hope to deal with this problem, as with McGregor's article, elsewhere.

W. B. Dinsmoor, in 'The Tribal Cycles of the Treasurers of Athena',

<sup>1</sup> Essays by his former pupils themselves are in a separate volume, the regular vol. II (1940) of *Harvard Studies*.

produces new evidence for the rotation system, and would now extend it beyond Ferguson's limits in the first half of the fourth century; he is, however, compelled to assume an anomaly, namely two lists of treasurers for 377-376. One of the best articles is H. A. Thompson's 'A Golden Nike', a careful description of a bronze head found in the Agora, which he shows with great probability, and without once straining the value of the evidence, to have been one of the golden Nikai of the *traditiones*. My own essay is on the pseudo-Xenophontic *Constitution of Athens*. B. D. Meritt, in 'Athens and Carthage', publishes a new scrap of an inscription, and shows that it is part of *I.G.i.*<sup>2</sup> 47, and that it indicates an Athenian mission of friendship to the Carthaginian generals in Sicily, probably in 407-406: an admirable piece of epigraphical scholarship. Two more literary essays follow (separated by a short note by C. Bonner on the use of hemlock for capital punishment): J. H. Finley, Jr., writes an excellent paper on 'The Unity of Thucydides' History', arguing for single and continuous composition after 404, on the proper basis, 'the close interplay and firm consistency of his thought throughout the whole *History*'—though he too, like the rest of us, sometimes tries to prove too much, as though Thucydides were incapable of similar thought about similar events at different times, and as though a work which was twenty-seven and more years in the making and was left unfinished would not be likely to show some inconsistencies; and he hardly meets the problem of the 'second preface'—it is the words used, *γέγραφε δὲ καὶ τὰντα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης*, which suggest that a 'volume' of the *History* had already been published. H. Bloch, in 'Studies in Historical Literature of the Fourth Century B.C.', writes on the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, giving most convincingly the arguments against Theopompus, Ephorus, and Androtion, as possible authors, and for *Anonymus*,<sup>1</sup> and adds

<sup>1</sup> With occasional overstressing: Thuc. vii. 27. 3-4, on the ravaging of Attica, 'written after

notes on the *Atthis* of Androtion and on Theophrastus' *Nomoi* (with a new fragment) in relation to Aristotle's *Politics* and *Constitution of Athens*.

A. M. Woodward has a characteristically learned and scrupulously careful paper on 'Two Attic Treasure-Records', (1) showing that *I.G. ii.*<sup>2</sup> 1414 is in all probability the missing lower part of 1407, with a new discussion of both involving many corrections of *I.G.* and a new date, 346-345, for the second fusion of the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods; and (2) on 1455, the inventory of 341-340, to which he adds 1444. W. Jaeger discusses Isocrates' *Areopagiticus* and his attitude to the Athenian democracy and the position of Athens in Greece, and dates it shortly before the Social War of 356-355; surely rightly, though his arguments for 357 in particular are weak, and I do not share his view of the importance of the speech for the historian: Isocrates' views are too vague and over-generalized to help us much.<sup>1</sup>

In 'Athenaeus and the Slaves of Athens' W. L. Westermann discusses reasonably, and therefore rejects, the figures quoted by Athenaeus for the slaves of Athens, Aegina, and Corinth: a discussion that was worth while in

404, is relative and does not annul his earlier pronouncements (ii. 57, iii. 26); it cannot therefore be said to be consistent with the absolute assertion of the historian of Oxyrhynchus (12. 5) that the country had suffered but slight injury in the former invasions'. How can an assertion about slight injury in former invasions be absolute? And to say, as Bloch does later, that this could not have been written by Androtion because he says (fr. 45) that the Lacedaemonians spared the *μυρία*, and so implies that they spared nothing else, is perverse.

<sup>1</sup> Jaeger stresses the similarity of Isocrates' ideas and those of Theramenes; and in this connexion writes, 'Aristotle (in the *At.*) praises the measure (the repeal of the anti-Areopagus laws by the Thirty) as we should expect him to do, for he distinguishes throughout Theramenes and his policies from the rest of the Thirty, and tries to prove that the usual condemnation of this statesman by the Athenian democrats of the fourth century was undeserved' (*At.* 28. 5). It was the *oligarchs'* condemnation of Theramenes which Aristotle must have had in mind: 'nearly all agree that Nicias and Thucydides were excellent statesmen'—does 'nearly all' include the democrats? The oligarchs said that Theramenes more than once sold the pass to the enemy.

view of recent attempts to defend them. R. Flacelière, in 'Athènes et l'Aitolie', writes a short review of the relations between the two states in the fourth century, a subject of which he is a master; W. W. Tarn returns to the subject of the wife of Demetrius II, and now argues (I think convincingly) that Phthia and Chryseis were one and the same person, wife of Demetrius and mother of Philip V; J. Kirchner, whose death was a great loss to scholarship, discusses anew the archon Diomedon in a brief but valuable note; he concludes that there must have been two archons of the name, in 241-240 and 232-231 (and that Eurycleides was archon in 230-229). This seems the best solution on the present evidence, though one does not welcome it for itself, any more than Dinsmoor's solution of his pro-

blem mentioned above. L. Robert gives us a minute and exhaustive, yet concise, examination of the functions of the ἀμφιβαλῆς in religious cults (it is the only article not proper to Athens; he was prevented from contributing a paper on Attic festival inscriptions). The last paper is by J. H. Oliver, on *Iulia Domna as Athena Polias*: a discussion of *I.G.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 1076, to which Broneer added four new pieces (*Hesp.* iv. 178-84) and Oliver himself now adds two more. The important point is that Iulia was worshipped as Athena Polias, not side by side with her (with Athena pushed rather to one side), as was formerly supposed.

Truly a rich volume, worthy of the scholar to whom it has been presented.

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#### CLIMATE AND ENERGY

S. F. MARKHAM: *Climate and the Energy of Nations*. Pp. 144; 9 maps and diagrams. London: Milford, 1942. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

MOST of this interesting book is an examination of the theory 'that man's energy depends basically on the climate in which he lives, that energy is a prime essential of any civilization, and that civilization follows climate control'. But the section on the history of climate control necessarily includes a retrospect of this aspect of civilization in the Near East and within the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and consequently concerns students of these regions. The writer makes a good case for regarding a mean temperature of 70° Fahrenheit, with an allowance for variations of humidity, as that at which the human body maintains itself in best health, and generates maximum energy and vigour of reaction to, and control of, its surroundings. He has little difficulty in relating this element of climate to the principal centres of ancient civilization, while taking account of historical and geographical evidence for oscillations of climate over long historical periods, in India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. For the more special instance of the Persian empire, climatic evidence

is unfortunately scanty; on the other hand, it is in Persia that we have the earliest record of deliberate control of climate in its least favourable phase, in Greek accounts of the 'baths of Darius'. It is not known whether Ionian experiments in hypocaust heating were due to Oriental example, and if Mr. Markham's date (about 750 B.C.) is well founded they must be independent, and he assumes (p. 47) that it was Persia that had borrowed from Greece. This phase is significant, for in the Aegean for the first time a vigorous culture arose beyond the 70° limit; and we must take account also of the Minoan achievement, with well-fitted doors indeed, but only portable braziers in the island-world, though Mycenaean palaces had a fixed central hearth in the main living-room. Much depends here, moreover, on the difficult problem of climatic change.

What is more easy to follow is the Roman use of 'central heating' and propagation of this form of climate-control as far as Britain, together with house-designs which show progressive and ingenious adaptation to austerer conditions out of doors. And the combined effect of Christian asceticism and barbarian inroads certainly disorgan-

ized these amenities at the same time as it brought about larger social and political collapse; so that with the Arab successes the great centres of civilization are once again within the 70° line.

To follow the argument further is not appropriate here. Within its limits,

Mr. Markham's inquiry raises questions which deserve further investigation, both on the archaeological and on the political side; and though he tends to rely on older authorities for his historical facts, he has used them with discretion, and some success.

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JOHN L. MYRES.

#### FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN REPUBLICAN ROME

Laura Robinson: *Freedom of Speech in the Roman Republic*. Pp. xiv+93. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1940. Paper.

THE expectant reader who turns to this book should be warned in advance that the title is slightly misleading. In the preface the authoress makes it quite plain that her study is concerned with 'the attitude of the Romans towards slander and libel at various times during the Republic'. But it must be confessed that that is rather a narrowing interpretation to give to the phrase 'Freedom of Speech', though within the narrower limits she has performed her task competently. Starting from the famous tale of the imprisonment of Naevius for his insult to the Metelli, she accepts T. Frank's interpretation that the praetor stretched the meaning of a decemviral law against magic to apply to slander; she considers that the two cases mentioned by the *Auctor ad Herennium* suggest that a new law *de iniuriis* had been passed some time during the second century, which presumably specifically forbade attacks on persons by name from the stage: but that was all, and freedom of criticism and attack in public life and in literature was allowed. Indeed, throughout the last century of the Republic liberty of attack and insinuation upon personal reputation were permitted to an extent that astonishes us. Augustus first introduced measures against *famosi libelli*, and from his time onwards the restrictions upon freedom of speech steadily increased. But the punishment meted out to Naevius made poets cautious, and a good part of Miss Robinson's thesis is devoted to a discussion of the ingenious shifts to which poets were put in order to avoid prose-

cution: Lucilius and Horace, in particular, are given full treatment.

I think there is not much doubt that Miss Robinson will command assent to the general terms of her thesis. But I could wish that on some points she had been a little more rigorous, and searched for greater exactness. The Naevius story is certainly puzzling, but it seems to me unfair to speak of a praetor 'perverting' the old decemviral law against magic (p. 85). If we remember the capital that Demosthenes tried to make out of Meidias' assault upon him, we shall not be surprised that Roman officials, whose sense of public decency and of personal *dignitas* was at least as keen as that of the Greeks (if not keener), took an unfavourable view of an attack, by name, from the stage, upon a consul. And it seems to me very risky to assume, though some scholars do, that Cicero (in *de Rep.* iv. 10. 12, if St. Augustine reported his words correctly) quoted wrongly or misunderstood a clause from the Twelve Tables. Here again the strong Roman sense of personal *dignitas* must be taken into account, and Festus (p. 190) does suggest that *malum carmen* was the equivalent of the later *convicium*. Is it not possible that the praetor's edict, from *Digest*, xlvii. 10. 15. 2 (which is referred to on pp. 12, 35, and 36), could by investigation be dated a little more precisely?

The booklet bears traces of rather careless printing, and surely *δίκη κακηγορίας* does not mean 'offence against the market-place'. But Miss Robinson's work has been done thoroughly and carefully, and will certainly be a contribution towards a history of freedom of speech in the Roman Republic.

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## THE AWAKENING OF WESTERN LEGAL THOUGHT

Max HAMBURGER: *The Awakening of Western Legal Thought*. Translated by Bernard Miall. Pp. xxiii+167. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1942. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

THE introductory section of this book is unfortunate. Few will wish at this moment to dispute its thesis, which is that the modern world owes much to the Greeks but has of late become so much obsessed by technical progress that it has forgotten its debt, and that it would do well to start to re-learn the true difference between civilization and barbarism. This might be said in a very few words, or in many large volumes, but an attempt to say it in seven pages has produced only a string of superficial banalities such as 'The monasteries harboured many a gem of ancient literature', or (of a later age) 'Gas and electricity simplified the work of even the humblest household'.

But the main part of Dr. Hamburger's work has more value. In 113 pages he has collected utterances of Greek philosophers (from Anaximander to Aristotle), poets, and historians, which express or suggest views concerning the nature of law, justice, civil obedience, the constitution of the State, and similar questions. The difficulty of such a task is that our records of the earlier philosophers are scanty and it is dangerous to make a conjectural reconstruction of a personality or a doctrine from one or two detached gnomic fragments, while, on the other hand, our material for studying the views of Plato (whom, by the way, Dr. Hamburger does not seem to consider an important original contributor to legal thought) or Aristotle is so extensive as to require more than a few pages for adequate discussion. Yet, as one reads Dr. Hamburger's quotations and comments, one begins to see taking shape and direction certain characteristic Hellenic ideas which have become fundamental in western legal thought.

The last part of the book gives a brief explicit statement of these leading ideas. It was the merit of Greek

thought that it did not rest content with either unreflective traditionalism or the superficial criticism which treated law as merely relative or arbitrary and cynically defined justice as the interest of the stronger. Dr. Hamburger takes a higher view than some do of the genuinely philosophic character of Sophistic thought. The Sophists, with their insistence on the *δισσοὶ λόγοι*, taught the lesson, important to lawyers and law-makers, that there are two sides to a case.

The recognition of the dynamic of law by the 'Dissoi Logoi' was one of the essential triumphs of Sophistics. The formulation of the nature of the dynamic in law, in the legal principle of 'Epieikeia', of 'Aequitas', was the great achievement of Aristotle. . . . The permeation of the current law with this idea of 'Aequitas' and 'bona fides' was the fulfilment of the legal idea in practical law, as formulated by the Romans.

But Greek thought went farther than these questions of the application of the law. The concept of *ἰσότης, ἰσονομία*, 'equality before the law', a 'favourite idea from the days of Herodotus', led to an examination of the true criterion of justice and the whole problem of the social structure of the commonwealth. The concepts of law as the basis of the State and of the State as the necessary condition of the good life led to investigations into the varieties of constitutions from which our political theories must still start. And, above all, the problem of finding an answer to the sceptical view of law as merely relative led to the concept of a true and eternal law higher than enacted laws, a concept which under the name of 'The Law of Nature' has profoundly influenced legal thought for two thousand years.

Dr. Hamburger's work, as the publisher's note says, is meant for the general reader, but any student of legal and political thought will be grateful for his collection of quotations, many not otherwise accessible except in works dealing specifically with early Greek philosophy, and will find his comments and conclusions worth pondering.



A bibliography of 193 titles is appended. As it covers not only the philosophers but also the poets and historians of ancient Greece and includes works on Roman Law and general legal philosophy, no one will expect to find it exhaustive, but it may give useful suggestions, although the 'general reader' will perhaps think that it contains too many German titles.

The translation is adequate and has the merit of reading more like English than German. Mr. Miall, however, has not altogether succeeded (but who has?) in dealing with the ambiguity of the word *Recht* (*ius, droit*, etc.) in its senses of (1) law and (2) a right.

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### THE LONE SHIELING

G. H. NEEDLER: *The Lone Shieling*. Origin and Authorship of the Blackwood 'Canadian Boat-Song'. Pp. ii+109. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (London: Milford), 1941. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.

THIS pleasant book, which plausibly ascribes to David Moir ('Delta') the authorship of the so-called 'Canadian Boat-Song' published in *Blackwood's* in September 1829, claims notice in *C.R.* because nearly half of it deals with accentual sapphic metre. The metrical tendencies hardened into rules by Horace produced (accidentally, I believe: see *C.R.* liv. 131 ff.) something like a concurrent accentual rhythm, as in

integer uitae scelerisque purus.

Professor Needler describes the encroachment of the accentual on the quantitative rhythm in Latin sapphics from the fifth century onwards, and in English from Sidney to Cowper and his successors. (If it is to be represented in longs and shorts,

— — — — — || — — — — —

would be more faithful than the scheme given on p. 48.) He holds that the metre of the song is very rare, being only found once else in secular poetry, in Emily Brontë's *Remembrance*, and that it is derived from accentual sapphics. Now the crux is this. You have only to invert the first foot of an ordinary iambic line in English to produce the 'sapphic' rhythm. Take one stanza:

From the lone shieling of the misty island

Mountains divide us, and a waste of seas—

Yet still the blood is strong, the heart is highland,

And we in dreams behold the Hébrides.

If the first couplet here approaches the 'sapphic', yet the second is common iambic. Which is the norm? Of the sixteen lines of the poem proper (p. 6) only two have the first foot definitely inverted (*mountains, conquer'd*); two are doubtful (*Come foreign, O then*), and three begin with two unaccented words (*from the, when the, that a*), which we will allow to be trochees for the sake of the argument. Even so, there remain nine lines, a majority, which are plain iambic; they do not, as is claimed on p. 84, 'adhere to the precise accentual sapphic rhythm'. (Inclusion of the introductory stanza and the refrain makes no odds; for while the former is 'sapphic' throughout, and does lead us to expect such rhythm to continue, the latter,

Fair these broad meads—these hoary woods are grand;  
But we are exiles from our fatherland,

restores the balance, being surely in effect an ordinary heroic couplet.) *Remembrance*, on the other hand, is in the rarer metre, since at least twenty-six of its thirty-two lines have the 'sapphic' rhythm. We may concede, however, that the song has a *tendency* towards this metre; and this, in view of the fact that Moir did contribute poems in genuine accentual sapphic strophes to *Blackwood's*, two of them at the period of the song (p. 30), may lend some support to the supposition that he wrote it.

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## SHORT REVIEWS

David M. ROBINSON: *Excavations at Olynthus. Part X. Metal and Minor Miscellaneous Finds. An Original Contribution to Greek Life.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 31.) Pp. xxviii+594; 33 figures, 171 plates, and 1 map. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (London: Milford), 1941. Cloth, 120s. net.

IN this interesting and amply illustrated volume Professor Robinson classifies and discusses in nine chapters the objects of metal and the minor miscellaneous finds from the important excavations at Olynthus which he has long conducted and largely financed. Not content with bare description, he pours out a wealth of comparative matter, both literary and archaeological; and students of ancient culture will find in the book much information and much food for thought. Detailed criticism would be impossible in the space available, and would indeed tax the resources of experts in more than one special field. Attention may be called to the evidence that lead was more fully worked in Macedonia and Thrace than earlier scholars have suggested (p. ix), and to that for the Athena Parthenos of Phidias deduced from a bronze mirror (p. 165), and to the interesting discussions of slingbullets (p. 418), bits (p. 437), and keys (p. 507). One minute criticism may be made: on p. 392 τὰ δόρατα (Herod. v. 9) are 'spears' rather than 'spearheads'. Robinson apologizes in the preface for the fact that the proveniences of some objects are doubtful, but he justly claims that in this matter there are many far worse offenders, and his 'Concordance of Proveniences' (pp. 535 ff.) in fact fills sixteen pages and gives much valuable information. There is a useful new general map of the Olynthus excavations.

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D. A. AMYX: *An Amphora with a Price Inscription in the Hearst Collection at San Simeon.* (University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Vol. 1, No. 8.) Pp. 179-206; 3 plates, 2 figures in text. Berkeley: University of California Press (Cambridge: University Press), 1941. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.

THIS is a model of the painstaking and scholarly discussion of a vase. In the first section the author shows the vessel to be connected with Beazley's group E, which prepared the way for Exekias. The second section deals with the subject represented by the single figure on each panel, a warrior and a man carrying a tripod. The Attic practice makes it almost a certainty that the two are connected, and the author very reasonably interprets them as the victor in the hoplomachia and a servant carrying his prize. For the old interpretation, Herakles with Apollo's tripod followed by Iolaos, is unsatisfactory, and the explanation of the warrior as the winner of the armed foot-race will not do, since he wears a chiton and carries a spear, and racers in armour never have chitons or spears.

In the third section the author discusses the vase's chief point of interest, the painted inscription, which, following Kretschmer, he transliterates Δύ' ὀβελῶ καὶ μ' ἔθιγες, and translates 'Two obols and you have me'.

The inscription has not generally been held to be a price inscription, but Mr. Amyx very pertinently points out that being painted, not incised, it must have been put on by the potter, not by the buyer, and must have been addressed to the customer, and therefore be an inducement to buy. Any interpretation involving a prohibition, such as Fränkel's explanation of Kretschmer's reading, or Naber's text, Δύ' ὀβελῶ καὶ μὴ θίγης, does not satisfy. 'In fact, the inscription makes no tolerable sense unless it is regarded as an advertisement of the amphora's price.' He adduces the vase *graffiti* of the late fifth century that are interpreted as lists of vases ordered with prices for each lot, and concludes 'that a price of two obols for the amphora is entirely consonant with what is now known of prices of Greek pottery'.

There is indeed, as Mr. Amyx's notes show, general agreement among vase-experts in the interpretation of these *graffiti*, yet to the present writer the price of two obols for this vase seems quite incredibly low, and the inscription remains a mystery.

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Michael GINSBURG: *Hunting Scenes on Roman Glass in the Rhineland.* Pp. 32; 12 figures (half-tone and line). University of Nebraska Studies, XLI, No. 2 (Studies in the Humanities, No. 1). Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1941. Paper, 75 cents.

FIGURED, engraved, or cut glass of the Roman period has not received much attention since Kisa wrote in 1908. The scenes may be divided into mythological, Christian, and secular (or 'genre'), and an up-to-date study of the whole class is undoubtedly needed and would reveal many new facts about Roman glass and later Roman art. The present study merely treats of one of the larger subsections of the secular group. Ginsburg lists eight hunting-glasses of Rhenish provenience and the unprovenienced Gréau bowl (fig. 10). He might have added fragments of two other stag-hunt bowls in the Niessen collection in Cologne (B.R.-G.K., xxvii. 34 f., both from Cologne), a hare-hunt bowl in Nürnberg (ibid., from Mayen), and, despite its French provenience, the hare-hunt beaker in Reims inscribed A ME DVLCIS AMIC BIB<sup>8</sup> (Morin-Jean, p. 239, fig. 323 B, from near Reims). The flask incised with boar, bear, and stag hunts from Chiaramonte-Gulfi in Sicily (Riv. d. Ist. Arch. iv. 61 ff.) should also be mentioned in any treatment of hunting-scenes on engraved Roman glass.

In the short account of Roman glass, particularly cut glass, which prefaces the description of the hunting-glasses, there are several statements

which are at least disputable. That the Cologne region 'for several centuries played the leading part in the production of glassware' is only true, if at all, in comparison with other Western provincial centres, for Italian, Syrian, and Alexandrian glasses were never superseded in their own sphere of currency by anything produced north of the Alps. That 'the best patterns of facet cutting belong to the third century'—a statement based on faulty deductions from grave-finds without due regard to the 'heirloom' quality of these glasses—can no longer be claimed. There is evidence that the finest facet beakers began production in the late first century. To speak of 'an engraving-tool . . . which peeled out a band' is to misconceive wholly the technique of cold cutting or engraving on glass.

The author has, in fact, missed a good opportunity. With a more critical approach to the writings of German archaeologists and a fuller appreciation of the technical and archaeological background of ancient glass he might have expanded this treatise into something more worth while.

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*Nouum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*  
*Latine secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi . . .*  
recensuerunt I. Wordsworth et H. I. White . . .  
Partis secundae fasciculus septimus. Epistula

ad Hebraeos, recensuit H. F. D. SPARKS. Pp. 679-765. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941. Paper, 10s. 6d. net.

THE issue of this part brings the second volume to an end. Not before the end of the fourth century was the Epistle to the Hebrews generally accepted in the West as the work of St. Paul. This fact must have had some influence on the text. What that influence has been investigated by Harnack and Schäfer, and it would thus appear that the Vulgate Latin text is based both on a previous version and on an examination of a Greek manuscript. The present fascicle shares the well-known characteristics of its predecessors, the neat and lucid arrangement of the many details, and the broad margins which are so suitable for annotations.

There is only one place in the text where I must emphatically disagree with the reading adopted; that is ii. 17. There the bulk of the MSS. read *similare*, and in the small edition it is called an *apertus itacismus*. But as long ago as 1889 H. Rönisch in his *Semasiologische Beiträge*, part 3, p. 76, gave three old biblical and three non-biblical examples of the intransitive *similo*. To these I added two more in 1922, and the late W. A. Baehrens scolded me for referring to such a common usage! It is now possible to add Pelagius on Rom. viii. 15 (cod. V), and further examples will be found in Georges and Benoist-Goezler.

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## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, XXXVII. 3

OCTOBER, 1942

A. H. Krappe, 'Ἀπόλλων Κύκνος: the story of Cynus conceals a swan-god, associated with the amber isles and with the apple-tree, and introduced into Greece from NW. Europe, who gave his name (cognate with that of the tree) to the Hellenic compound divinity Apollo. S. Dow, *Studies in the Athenian Tribute Lists*, I: against the editors of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* concludes that S.E.G. v. 8 belongs to 449/8 B.C.; the year alleged to be without a list is therefore 447/6, not 449/8. W. H. Alexander, *The Enigma of Horace's Mother*: not only was H.'s father a Levantine, but his mother was probably a Jewess; this hypothesis explains the suppression of all reference to her and helps to account both for H.'s unpopularity and for some features of his attitude to life. A. T. Olmstead, *The Mid-Third Century of the Christian Era*, II: continued from xxxvii. 3. L. R. Taylor, *The Election of the Pontifex Maximus in the Late Republic*: Sulla did not abolish the *comitia pontificis maximi* when he abrogated the *lex Domitia*, and this form of election persisted into the Empire; the *lex Labiena* of 63 was a revival of the *lex Domitia*, and Caesar's election to the pontificate did not depend on it. E. O'Neill, *Phrynichus' Phoenissae and Aeschylus' Persae*: J. T. Allen's conjecture that Persian ship-timber from Salamis was used for the *ikria* in the restoration of the theatre gives new point to the *Phoenissae*, if it was

the first play performed in the restored theatre and Themistocles, its choregus, was responsible for the restoration, and to the *Persae*. G. Norwood on Pindar, *Nem.* i. 64-6, proposes *οὐρίοντα βαιο-τάτων* | *φᾶ νιν ὀρθώσων μόρφῃ*. J. Whatmough publishes two fragments of Etruscan funerary inscriptions belonging to the Fogg Museum.

### HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

LII: 1941

H. Kuhn, *The True Tragedy*: first part of an attempt to trace 'a causal nexus' between the thought of tragedy and the philosophy of Plato. B. D. Holland, *A Kylix in the Fogg Art Museum*: analyses the individual methods of design practised by the masters of the Ripe Archaic Style. A. F. Stocker, *A New Source for the Text of Servius*: the codex Guelferbytanus 2091 has far greater value than was previously supposed, as an independent source for the text of 'the late Servius auctus'. F. M. Wheelock, *Leto's Hand and Tasso's Horace*: data for recognizing the script of Pomponio Leto, who was wrongly alleged to have contributed marginalia to a Horace which belonged to Tasso. J. Whatmough, *The Neural Basis of Language and the Problem of the Root*: since one cannot reconstruct man's primitive language, there is no such thing as a root, save as a semantic entity with a neural basis. Summaries of dissertations. Index of authors and subjects for Vols. I-L.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE AMERICAN  
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

LXXII: 1941

W. Allen, *The Political Atmosphere of the Reign of Tiberius*: a consideration of the theories of F. B. Marsh. C. Bonner, *A New Historical Fragment*: publication, with commentary, of P. Mich. Inv. 4913. A. A. Boyce, *Processions in the Acta Ludorum Saecularium*: suggestions based on the Augustan and Severan Acta. P. De Lacy, *Cicero's Invective Against Piso*: the arguments against the Epicurean Piso come from popular anti-Epicurean literature of the time. N. J. De Witt, *Rome and the 'Road of Hercules'*: on the land-route from Spain to Rome, associated with Hercules by tradition, and followed by Hannibal, who posed as a second Hercules. S. Dow, *Athenian Tribute Lists, III*: the list of 425-4 contained the names of over 400 cities, of which 100 were new appearances. G. Downey, *Strabo on Antioch: Notes on His Method*: on the bearing of Strabo's literary form upon the statements he makes. E. C. Evans, *The Study of Physiognomy in the Second Century A.D.*: illustrates from representative prose-writers the popularity of this pseudoscience. R. O. Fink, *The Sponsalia of a Classiaris: a Reinterpretation of P. Mich. Inv. 4703*: the document is a contract of betrothal, not of marriage. K. von Fritz, *The Mission of L. Caesar and L. Roscius in January 49 B.C.*: a revision of Mommsen's estimate of Caesar's sincerity and the Senate's stupidity. J. F. Gilliam, *The Dux Ripae at Dura*: on the history and functions of this military command. G. Highet, *Petronius the Moralist*: though containing no open moralizations, the *Satyricon* criticizes the world from the standpoint of Epicurean morality. F. W. Jones, *The Formulation of the Revenge Motif in the Odyssey*: an analysis of the nine chief passages in the first two books which build up this theme. G. M. Kirkwood, *The Dramatic Unity of Sophocles' Trachiniae*: Deianeira is the central figure, and a double contrast between her and Heracles gives unity to the play. W. F. J. Knight, *Repetitive Style in Vergil*: traces the development of Virgil's style in relation to different repetitive principles. F. W. Lenz, *The Athenian Strategoi of the Years 441-40 and 433-32*: the list of 441-40 really contains eleven names, the extra one being Pericles' proxy; this is probably true also of 433-2. H. J. Leon, *Sulphur for Broken Glass*: on Martial, i. 41. 3-5. H. L. Levy, *Claudian's In Rufinum*, i. 83-4, and *a Vatican Vase-Painting*: this painting perhaps portrays a Fury as instigating Thyestes' incest. B. M. Marti, *Literary Criticism in the Mediaeval Commentaries on Lucan*: these glosses contain scattered remarks on the nature of poetry. W. C. McDermott, *Varro Murena*: on the events of 23 B.C., including the conspiracy of Murena and Caepio. M. F. McGregor, *Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals*: on the reign of Cleisthenes and his relations with Delphi and Olympia. E. G. O'Neill, *The Prologue of the Troades of Euripides*: the prologue enforces the moral of the play, that victory corrupts the victor. R. A. Pack, *Artemidorus and the Physiognomists*:

the strictures of the oniologist refer to Polemon. L. Pearson, *Credulity and Scepticism in Herodotus*: a discussion of Herodotus' critical powers. A. E. Raubitschek, *Two Notes on Isocrates*: (1) the decree mentioned in 8. 82 ordered the annual display of 'the incoming tribute-money' at the City Dionysia; (2) 8. 86, ἐν Δάριω δὲ is the correct reading. R. S. Rogers, *The Prefects of Egypt under Tiberius*: reviews the evidence for their names. A. D. Simpson, *Epicureans, Christians, Atheists in the Second Century*: on resemblances which account for the association of Christians and Epicureans in popular disfavour. F. A. Sullivan, *Cicero and Gloria*: on the kind of glory which Cicero desired. W. H. Willis, *Athletic Contests in the Epic*: studies the epic tradition of games from Homer to Silius. H. J. Wolff, *The Praxis-Provision in Papyrus Contracts*: on the reasons why a right of execution against a defaulting party could be vested in persons not participating in the agreement. H. C. Youtie, *New Readings in Michigan Ostraka*: some corrections of Amundsen's texts.

## AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

LXII. 4: OCTOBER 1941

T. B. L. Webster, *A Study of Greek Sentence Construction*: deals with the tendency towards greater length and elaboration which reveals itself in the period from Homer to Dinarchus, and with those authors, such as Thucydides, who stand apart from the general practice of their time. O. J. Todd, *Aristotle's Politics*, iv. xii. 11-13: seeks to show that the text may be so emended and understood as to provide a full treatment of twenty-seven possible 'modes' of electing state officials. E. B. Stevens, *Topics of Pity in the Poetry of the Roman Republic*: examines the available material, and concludes that the sentiment of pity is well represented, and appears in a number of readily distinguishable forms. L. Edelstein, *Horace Odes*, ii. 7. 9-10: insists that *relicta non bene parmula* is to be taken with what follows, and that the whole passage is neither joke nor literary reminiscence, but a caustic comment on the conduct of Brutus' troops after their leader's suicide. C. Bonner, *Four Lexicographical Notes*: deals with the meaning of ἀποπαυδαρισὼν and καθάραι, the etymology of δασάλιος, and the semantic development of πρόφασις. L. A. Post, *Notes on Menander*: discusses (a) the double herm Homer-Menander, and (b) the text and interpretation of one passage (390-7) from the *Epitrepontes* and six (36-42, 114, 135-7, 158, 344-8, 394) from the *Perikeiromene*. W. N. Bates, *The Euripidean Papyri*: adds a number of new items to the list given in the author's earlier book on Euripides, bringing the total up to 73. L. H. Gray, *The Indo-European Base Types \*do-, \*do-je-, \*do-ye-, \*do-ge-*: holds that these ended not in a long but in a short vowel, followed by a semivowel of post-velar quality. W. H. Alexander, *Four Suggestions for Seneca*, E.M. civ: proposes . . . *vide ac virides frondes vides; dum virent, utere* in civ. 11, and *si rem 'publicam' for sivere* in 27, and defends *sub observatione* (15) and *in tacta* as two words (29).



H. W. Parke, *The Sources of Vergil, Aeneid*, iii. 692-705: finds reflections in this passage of ancient oracles on the founding of Syracuse, Camerina, and Gela. J. B. McDiarmid, *Note on Heracitus, Fragment 124*: defends and reinterprets the traditional text. A. K. Lake, *A Note on the Location of the Cena Trimalchionis*: holds that this was Minturnae. V. Müller, *The Date of the Augustus from Prima Porta*: regards the marble statue as a copy of a bronze set up soon after 20 B.C. A. Diller, *A New Source on the Spartan Ephebia*: cites a quotation of the Herodotus gloss on *εἰρη* from the Paris MS. of Strabo, and discusses its bearing on the meaning of the word.

## LXIII. 1: JANUARY 1942

H. Fränkel, *Zeno of Elea's Attacks on Plurality*: argues that Zeno denied motion because of the impossibility of penetrating the *continua* of time, space, and mass, and refuted the theory of plurality by the *reductio ad absurdum* method. J. N. Hough, *The Structure of the Captivi*: reinforces the arguments for excluding Ergasilus from the Greek original, and holds that his part has been more worked over than any other. C. H. Benedict, *The Romans in Southern Gaul*: in an attempt to appreciate the sudden reversal of policy in 125 B.C., examines the campaigns down to the break-up of the Arvernian empire. W. M. Green, *The Dying World of Lucretius*: finds the conception of imminent destruction original to Lucretius, but traces considerable Stoic elements in the pictures of the final catastrophe itself. R. O. Fink, *Mommsen's Pridianum, B.G.U.* 696: argues that *Pridiana* were compiled twice a year in Egypt but once only elsewhere. A. C. Youtie, *Notes on Michigan Ostraca*: discusses the text of Mich. i. 539, 356, 559, 90. P. Friedländer, *A New Epigram by Damagetus*: assigns the Thyreum inscription to this poet on stylistic grounds. F. R. B. Godolphin, *The Author of the Περὶ ἡθῶν*: refutes the arguments of a recent article on Terentianus (A.J.P. lxii. 1). W. H. Willis, *The Etymology and Meaning of Γνώστωρ* and *Ερώτωρ*: denying the connexion with *ἄλγος*, suggests *ἀργός* (= Latin *argutus*) as the second element. F. M. Heichelheim, *From Asia Minor to India*: holds that the Heraeus tetradrachm is a restrike of a posthumous Alexander coin from Phaselis in Lycia.

## LXIII. 2: APRIL 1942

P. Treves, *The Meaning of Consensio and King Arybbas of Epirus*: maintains that Arybbas never

recovered his throne since *consensescere* can mean 'to die in exile'. F. W. Lenz, *On the Authorship of the Leptinean Declamations Attributed to Aristides*: seeks to show that these speeches are by the Byzantine Thomas Magister. A. Segre, *The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation ca. 230-140 B.C.*: argues that in this period inflation was not the special result of exceptional circumstances, but the recognized method of meeting financial difficulties. H. Fränkel, *Zeno of Elea's Attacks on Plurality, II*: discusses the meaning of *ἀνείσως*, and concludes, in general, that Zeno deliberately used deceptive methods in dealing with profound problems. J. Quasten, *A Pythagorean Idea in Jerome*: finds Pythagorean-Orphic influences in the description of the baptismal robe *veste lintea nihil mortis in se habente* (Ep. 64. 19). M. Fowler, *Ambrosiai Stelai*: adds the Vedic Soma myth to the collection of Planktai legends.

## LXIII. 3: JULY 1942.

G. H. Macurdy, *Apollodorus and the Speech Against Neera*: sees a purely political purpose (to prepare for the appropriation of the Theoric fund) in the speech, and argues against Apollodorus' claim to credit as a patriot. J. A. Notoopoulos, *Plato's Epitaph*: maintains that the Speusippus epigram is probably the genuine epitaph. H. C. Youtie and O. M. Pearl, *Notes on Papyri*: deals with seven papyri, chiefly *sitologi* reports and receipts, preserved in Cairo and elsewhere. L. Spitzer, *A New Program for the Teaching of Literary History* (dedicated to Paul Friedländer on his sixtieth birthday): discusses the suggested training of the *philologus poeta*, recently put forward in *Literary Scholarship, its Aims and Methods* by Foerster and others, in relation to American life and education. A. E. Kober, *The Gender of Nouns Ending in -inthos*: seeks to show that this is not necessarily a feminine ending. T. R. S. Broughton, *Cleopatra and the Treasure of the Ptolemies*: holds that Cleopatra certainly plundered the temples after Actium, because any royal treasure had long since been exhausted. L. Casson, *Note on a Nile Boat*: suggests that, in descriptions of these boats, *ἐστρωμένον* means 'provided with a floor' (over the bilge). R. Marcus, *Note on an Aramaic Etymology in Plutarch's Isis and Osiris*: finds the explanation of Plutarch's *ἦλθον ἀπ' ἐμᾶντης* in his equation of the names Isis-Athena in the fact that in Aramaic *āthēnā* means 'I come' (or came). P. Friedländer, *Heraciti Frag. 124*: proposes to read *σὰρξ εἰκὴ κεχυμένη (ἢ ἀνθρώπων) ὁ κάλλιστος*.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*Excerpts and extracts from periodicals are not included in this list unless they are published separately.*

Adcock (F. E.) *The Roman Art of War Under the Republic*. Pp. 140. (Martin Classical Lectures, Vol. VIII.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Milford), 1940. Cloth, 11s. 6d. net.  
Agard (W. R.) *What Democracy Meant to the*

Greeks. Pp. xii+278. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (London: Milford), 1942. Cloth, 18s. 6d. net.  
Beazley (J. D.) *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*. Pp. xii+1186. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942. Cloth, 63s. net.



- Blakeney* (E. H.) *The Epistle to Diognetus*. Pp. 94. London: S.P.C.K., 1943. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Day* (J.) *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*. Pp. xi+300. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Milford), 1942. Cloth, 23s. 6d. net.
- Durham University Journal*, Vol. XXXV (New Series, Vol. IV), No. 1, 1942.
- Elferink* (L. J.) *Het Oordeel van den Kerkvader Augustinus over de Romeinsche Oudheid. Bijdragen tot een commentaar op de eerste vijf boeken van "De Civitate Dei"*. Pp. 148. Pretoria: van Schaik, 1942. Cloth, 15s.
- Epps* (P. H.) *The Poetics of Aristotle*. Translated by P.H.E. Pp. xiii+70. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (London: Milford), 1942. Paper, 3s. 6d. net.
- Excavations at Olynthos*. Part XI. *Necrolynthia*. A study in Greek burial customs and anthropology. By D. M. Robinson. Pp. xxvii+279; 26 figures, 71 plates. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (London: Milford), 1942. Cloth, 90s. net.
- Fairclough* (H. R.) *Warming Both Hands. The Autobiography of Henry Rushton Fairclough*. Pp. xvi+629; illustrations. Stanford University Press, California (London: Milford). Cloth, \$3.75 (22s. 6d. net).
- Hesperia*. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. XI, 1942: No. 3. Pp. 213-303; figures and plates. Published at 12-20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md. Paper, \$1.75.
- Lyth* (J.) *Marcus Aurelius. A rendering in verse*. Preface by G. Murray. Pp. 27. (P.E.N. Books.) London: George Allen & Unwin, 1942. Card-board, 2s. net.
- Marchant* (E. C.) and *Watson* (G.) *New Latin Course*. Part II. Pp. viii+174; illustrations. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1942. Cloth, 4s.
- Markham* (S. F.) *Climate and the Energy of Nations*. Pp. 144. London: Milford, 1942. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Meritt* (B. D.) *Epigraphica Attica*. Pp. 157; 22 figures. (Martin Classical Lectures, Vol. IX.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (London: Milford), 1940. Cloth, \$2, or 11s. 6d. net.
- Minar* (E. L.) *Early Pythagorean Politics in Practice and Theory*. Pp. ix+143. (Connecticut College Monograph No. 2.) New London: Connecticut College Bookshop, 1942. Paper, \$2.
- Murray* (G.) *The Rape of the Locks. The Perikleiomene of Menander. The fragments translated and the gaps conjecturally filled in*. Pp. 116. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1942. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*, Vol. III. Edited with notes by A. C. Johnson and S. P. Goodrich. Pp. xii+124. Princeton: Princeton University Press (London: Milford), 1942. Cloth, \$3.
- Pearson* (L.) *The Local Historians of Attica*. Pp. xii+167. (Philological Monographs published by the American Philological Association, No. XI.) Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Press, Inc. (Oxford: Blackwell), 1942. Cloth, \$2.25.
- Sir Arthur Evans* 1851-1941; pp. 36, 1 photograph.
- Arthur Hamilton Smith* 1860-1941; pp. 14, 1 photograph. (From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XXVII.) London: Milford. Paper, 3s. and 1s. 6d. net.
- Smith* (C. E.) *Tiberius and the Roman Empire*. Pp. v+281. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1942. Cloth, \$3.
- Stadler* (T. W.) *Vergils Aeneis. Eine poetische Betrachtung*. Pp. 104. Einsiedeln: Benziger Verlag, 1942. Stiff paper, Fr. 3.80.
- Stanford* (W. B.) *Aeschylus in his Style. A study in language and personality*. Pp. iv+147. Dublin: University Press (Oxford: Blackwell), 1942. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Studies in Civilization*. University of Pennsylvania Bicentennial Conference. Pp. vi+200. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (London: Milford), 1941. Cloth, 9s. net.
- Sturtevant* (E. H.) *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*. Pp. 103. Published for Yale University by the Linguistic Society of America. Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1942. Cloth.

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